“Listen to Dance and Look at Music: An anthropological study of flamenco in Barcelona”

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To My Parents

Who set my field entry right at the beginning by giving me the ultimate author name for this research, one of the most sung about female names in flamenco
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Preface

At the beginnings of my studies professor Manfred Kremser, who sadly passed away in 2013, said in his lecture of “Religion and Consciousness Studies”: "lieber eine Platte einlegen als eine Tablette nehmen", the translation would be”: better listen to a vinyl than taking a pill. By saying this he referred to the healing aspect of music and that sometimes it can help and improve our condition better than many medicines.

In the year 2012 I researched with unaccompanied "illegal" minors on their daily life in Vienna in the context of my Bachelor degree. To understand their perception of living in Austria I did a collaborative photo project with them. Diverse topics emerged during this undertaking, among them music, which had a major importance for the youngsters. On the one side music was the connection to their places of origin (language and type of music) and on the other side it was a link to their host-country. The implication of music, its role as positive connoted 'cultural' transmitter, caught my attention and in consequence this made me reflect more on the significance of sound in general. I realized that as visual anthropologist I personally did not pay enough attention to the sonic world being 'blinded' by the visual effects in daily life that surround me. I began to search for the sounds in life and recognized that it expands my field by combining the visual with sound and vice versa because both relate to each other.

My mother, originally from Madrid and my Spanish relatives, who are enthusiastic flamenco lovers, introduced me to the art of flamenco. Of course flamenco is rooted in Andalusia but the following acquaintance brought me to the decision to research in Barcelona:

The first time I came to Barcelona I visited a small bar with live music in the district of Raval. I was fascinated by the dynamic of this place and the collective feeling that was transmitted during the performance to what seemed a very diverse audience (locals, foreigners, tourists female, male, young, old). Weary of dealing with exclusion mechanisms, I sought to investigate on inclusion combining it with my personal field of visual and sound. Somehow I had the feeling I could find all these issues in this tiny place.
1 Introduction

For my research I decided to study the enchantment of flamenco. Flamenco is a vast field and touches many topics that are interesting for anthropologists like gender, identity, ethnicity and heritage to mention a few. There are many researchers who investigated the art of flamenco in different fields like FlamenCoterapia, audio-visuals, biology, social science, there even exists an academic discipline called flamencología (in Seville and Córdoba). Since its genesis flamenco was and is a widely discussed subject regarding its origins and the central role of gypsies shaping this art, flamenco becoming 'Spanish identity' and being declared immaterial world heritage by the UNESCO. This demonstrates that flamenco offers a variety of perspectives worth to research. For my investigation I decided to leave aside these much explored fields in order to focus on a particular social aspect and less studied phenomenon: the integral aspect of social interaction and communication between artists and an 'anonymous' audience within a live flamenco performance, in short the sociability of flamenco.

I was curious to learn why the audience feels so attracted to it on an international level, what it is what moves them and what is actually happening during the performance.

To draw near this phenomenon I formulated my first initial research question:
What moves the performers during a Flamenco performance and what moves the audience?

This question includes the emotional level of a flamenco performance, the personal experience of artists and audience regarding their feelings. To investigate emotions within a heterogeneous group where feelings are expressed, lived and defined differently, turned out to be the wrong way for a first approach of the research subject. Hence, beyond the emotional aspect I developed a different research question open to more areas:

What is fascinating about a flamenco performance?
Out of this initial question the following sub-questions became formulated:

What roles does the body play?
What role does sound play?
How is communicated between the performers and the audience?

The first two sub questions comprise of two sensory key elements present in a flamenco performance and scrutinize their meaning. The role of body and sound seemed essential to study in order to understand communication and interaction between artist and audience and to identify what is fascinating about it. The last question is concluding the first two and examines the 'actions' that take place within a performance.

The majority of the research was conducted in Barcelona at the bar 23 Robadors within a time frame of one year. It is a small bar with live music acts located in the centre of the city. They have mainly music events of different genres during the week and flamenco performances on weekends, which are followed by jam sessions.

The investigation focuses on the present moment of a performance, though contextualized in the historical background. The research subject became approached inductively through field research guided by principles of the grounded theory. This methodology supported flexibility allowing adapting methods according to the research questions and their appliance with respect to the research partners. Research partners were primarily the Saturday flamenco group of the bar as well as other flamenco artists performing or visiting the 23 Robadors and the audience on site.

The data collection was carried out on the basis of participant observation, ergo-epical conversations, interviews (including various interview forms), image and sound recording. Analysis methods were as well conducted by the principles of the grounded theory and constant comparison including emic categories, in vivo codes and free codification of the interviews and the fieldnotes. The photos became analysed on two levels: content analysis and photo-elicitation. For the sound recordings I developed a proper codification system leaned on Bauer's concept relating it to the classical score system.

The aims of the investigation are to perceive the phenomenon flamenco towards an integrating performance event among a heterogeneous group of unknown people apart
from 'identity bias'. To show and document this phenomenon from an anthropological point of view and to combine different anthropological fields like body, sound and space under the theoretical foundation of performance. On a macro level I would like to demonstrate that performance has a capacity to create an union among unknown people through interaction and communication, through two main sensory elements the visual and the auditory. Further to illustrate the social importance of performing arts for society.

Especially in Spain the art sector, including performing arts like music and theatre was affected by the crisis which begun in 2008 caused majorly due to the collapse of the "housing bubble" simplified through credits by banks. 41,3 billion Euros were given to the Spanish Government by the European Stability Mechanism\(^1\) to support banks and recapitalisation. As a consequence, the regular VAT was increased from 18% to 21% (cf. Kahl 2012) and in the art sector even from 8% to 21%, resulting in a loss of millions of visitors within the sector of theatres and concerts (cf. ibid.). Than in 2014 the great relief the Spanish Government announced reducing the VAT to 10% for the art sector which includes performers, photographers and galleries among others (cf. García et. al. 2014). However, bars with live music struggle to ask for extra permissions to perform during "responsible hours", which makes life difficult for bar owners and their programme (cf. López 2015b). Regarding artists and owners of small bars with live music events like flamenco it forces them to work in the underground because the norms make their life impossible (cf. López 2015a). Further, they claim that the government makes no distinction between big concerts of world famous artists and small concerts with local, unknown artists (cf. López 2015b). It seems like there will be a change now in September that approaches the English norms of Live Act Music.

This research lies in the cross field of the three Creole-Master topics "material culture", "visual anthropology" and to some extent it deals with "new identity". In fact, my research is embedded in the anthropology of performance implying body, sound and space. These elements are linked with the anthropology of sound and visual anthropology stressed through the audio-visual methodological approach. Central

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\(^1\) URL: [http://www.esm.europa.eu/assistance/spain/](http://www.esm.europa.eu/assistance/spain/)
analytical concepts draw from Alfred Gell (Agents; Gell 1998), Pierre Bourdieu (Actions; Bourdieu 1997) and Henri Lefebvre (Space; Brenner and Elden 2009) amplified through concepts of the linked fields like body and sound. The theoretical framing concludes in Victor Turner's concept of "communitas" (Turner 1969) including supplementary fundamentals by Richard Schechner (Schechner 1988) and Cristina Cruces concept of "collective sociability" (Cruces 2002).

Examining the current state on flamenco in anthropology regarding social interaction and communication within a performance I came across Cristina Cruces Roldán. Cruces Roldán, professor at the University of Sevilla in anthropology, is currently active researching and writing. She published many papers and two dense books on anthropology and flamenco. In her book "Más allá de la Música. Antropología y Flamenco (I)" (2002) she introduces the notion of collective sociability (sociabilidad colectiva) in relation to the integral aspect of flamenco in a live performance (cf. Cruces 2002:21). The concept describes how an individual becomes part of a collective while relating to "it" through actions, which results in a status of collective sociability. I was lucky to meet Cristina Cruces during my stay in Spain, who told me about her research on sociability and how poorly it is studied, especially compared to all the other issues that have been in the research focus for years. She helped centring my research and gave me useful methodical framework advices.

First the historical development of flamenco will be outlined (2), beginning with the origins, followed by the transformation of flamenco, an outline on the current research state regarding social interaction and communication namely collective sociability in flamenco, ending the chapter with a particular view on flamenco in Barcelona. Following the historical background the research will be theoretically embedded (3), giving a short overview on performing arts and anthropology and afterwards presenting central analytical concepts. In the next chapter the methods will be exposed (4) divided in two chapters: firstly, data collection including key methods as well as audio-visual methods and secondly data analysis including fieldnotes, interviews, images and sound. After having looked at the methodological approach, the research field will be presented (5). This chapter is divided in sub-chapters; first the field will be illustrated followed by
a reflection on the research role, next a photo-essay gives a visual insight into the field and a narration of a typical Saturday night. Subsequently, the empirical and main part of the work is stated (6), separated in three sub-chapters: "Space" with "Physical Space", "Embodied Space", and "Social Space" as subgenre: "Actions" with "Exclamations and Palmas", "Looking and Listening" and "Body and Sound" as subgenre: and "Agents" with "Artists", "Audience" and "Jam Session" as subgenre and a summary. Last chapter is the Conclusion (7): The evaluation of the results in the case of the 23 Robadors embedded in the analytical concepts.
2 Flamenco in Context

Flamenco "(...) es un arte más de impresiones", flamenco is more the art of 'impressions', told me Joaquín San Juan, director of the flamenco academy 'Amor de Dios' in Madrid (San Juan 2014). A term I often encountered throughout my research. With 'more the art of impressions' he refers to, that a flamenco performance does not follow a certain narration but 'impressions', which can develop into a narration. This goes together with flamenco being described as art of 'artistic expression' as by the UNESCO, when it became declared Immaterial Cultural Heritage in 2010:

Flamenco is an artistic expression fusing song (cante), dance (baile) and musicianship (toque) (...). It is the badge of identity of numerous communities and groups, in particular the Gitano (Roma) ethnic community, which has played an essential role in its development. Transmission occurs through dynasties, families, social groups and Flamenco clubs, all of which play a key role in its preservation and dissemination.2

The extract depicts two dimensions of flamenco, on the one side the "artistic performance" and on the other hand "identity" and the historical development that is ascribed to flamenco – as well as further thematic fields (not shown in this excerpt), which will be presented later. The phenomenon flamenco moves people still nowadays. It happened to me more than once, that people and artists became very emotional talking about flamenco and even struggled to find words to describe what it means to them. To summarize the multiple meanings flamenco inherits and what it is attributed to, it is necessary to look back in history.

First the origins of flamenco and the socio-political circumstances it was born into will be presented. Secondly, the transition it passed through until now will be looked upon. Thirdly, a short outline will be given on the current research state in the field of Anthropology and Flamenco. The chapter will be rounded up by an overview on the present flamenco scene in Barcelona. Due to the own vocabulary used in flamenco a glossary is included at the end of this work.

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2.1 The Origins

Flamenco emerged in Andalusia in the South of Spain, even though it is shaped from traditions outside like the Indian Katak visible in the dance and Arabic influences in the music, especially perceptible in the Cante Jondo to mention some (cf. Claus 1985:106-107). Many aficionados do know the historical site, the influences that can be found in flamenco and enjoy sharing their gathered knowledge. Juan Campos from Andalusia for example, aficionado, toque and flamenco guitar teacher has been passionately studying the history, the lyrics and the music of flamenco (Campos 2014).

One early historical reference is found in the 19th century in the 'Spanish letters' known as "Cartas de España", a detailed description on the phenomenon flamenco and bullfighting by the Spanish-English Poet José María Blanco White (cf. Knipp 2006:33). The German Romance scholar Hugo Schuchardt documented as one of the first on the social background of flamenco in his studies "Cantes flamencos" in 1881 (cf. ibid.:34). The origin of the name is controversially discussed, the theories range from a Latin derivation of the term 'flama' which means flame, to more recent opinions, saying that the use of the term for the art derives from the other implication flamenco has in Spanish: 'Flemish' (cf. ibid.:36).

Yet, before flamenco was named, dances and songs were documented that witnessed familiarity, such as with the seguidilla gitana mentioned already in the 18th century (cf. ibid.:22). This seguidilla gitana was performed in theatres during the breaks, attracting the audience through its roughness, constituting a contrast to existent 'purity' of the ruling aristocracy and the church at that time.

*Gitano* is the Spanish word for 'gipsy' and describes a subgroup of the Romas in Spain. The term is still used today for and by themselves. The gitanos who came to Spain suffered from persecution throughout history and belonged to a minority (cf. Grimaldos 2015:60). They determined the image of flamenco. However, not all gitanos identify themselves with flamenco nor relate to it (cf. Sánchez-Robles 2013:29). Nowadays the gitano communities form part of Spanish society. However, regarding integration the community and state still struggle.

The Spain of the 19th century was a poor country with a huge discrepancy between landlords and peasants. These were the circumstances flamenco evolved among a
minority with few rights and many illiterates who decisively shaped the art of flamenco (cf. Cruces 2003:35). Flamenco, which was by then mainly *cante* gave room to the oppressed to verbalize, to express sorrow and loss, consequently, singing was a mean against the hunger (cf. Cruces 2003:36; cf. Grimaldos 2010:99). 'Death', 'sorrow' and 'pain' were topics sung about.

(...) la muerte de un ser cercano, un ser querido pues es una tragedia todavía que se representa de una manera mucho más desmesurada sería la lógica de un individuo que tiene poco estudio formal y poco freno educacional que normalmente se queda muy hermético, no tiene mucho vocabulario, no se ha expresado demasiado nunca pero cuando se expresa porque hay algo duro por dentro, pues lo hace de una manera mucho más visceral, casi como un aullido, un grito, un dolor (...) (San Juan 2014)

San Juan explains here that flamenco gave not only room to make these issues subject but was as well a way to channel strong feelings, like the loss of a relative. Further he opposes the strength of expression to education, where expression becomes controlled and expressed on a broader hermetical level whereas here in a "shout of sorrow".

Flamenco was at the same time "music, dance and attitude of life of a minority of Spain"\(^3\), thus it was and still can be a reflection on the socio-political situation of its time (Schreiner 1985:7). Moreover, flamenco is a form to stand up against power or like Cruces describes it to the point:

(...) el flamenco es por una parte la liberación del individuo que se levanta por encima del poder, un grito de rebeldía social, una exaltación de la rebelión individual, y de la solidaridad con los que sufren la injusticia. Por otra, es queja sumergida en el pozo del sino.
(Cruces 2003:45)

On the one side flamenco is "liberation of the individual" against power, a "cry of social opposition", an "exaltation of the individual" and a "solidarity towards those ones who suffer injustice" because the oppressed were not only *gitanos*, but a class that became defined by their social circumstances. Further Cruces writes that it is a "complain of fate". This lamentations and other socio-political contents can be found in *coplas* that were passed on orally (cf. Grimaldos 2010:78-92).

Beyond the pre-flamenco forms that were performed in theatres, flamenco was rather practised in private spaces – often in form of fiestas including alcohol, to escape the hard working day, to forget about sorrows and at the same time it was a counter event against authority (cf. Knipp 2006:30). Flamenco was very linked to labour like the

\(^3\) Original quote: "Es ist Musik, Tanz und Lebensgefühl einer Minderheit Spaniens."
famous *Cantes Mineros* (songs of the miners) witness, which are still sung today (cf. ibid.:106-115).

Like mentioned before the roughness, the melancholy, the wildness of expressing (regarding emotions) caught the attention of many people and turned it into a tourist attraction. Consequently, this caused a transformation of flamenco entering the public space with the era of the *Cafés Cantantes* (cf. Cruces 2003:35).

### 2.2 The Transformation

Through the attraction of tourists towards the 'exotic' flamenco the interest shifted in the direction of a more 'commercial' view. The golden era begun for flamenco on the one side but on the other virtuosity and *el duende* (the spirit) – which takes possession of the artists and is a characteristic of the 'real' art – suffered. Paradoxically along with this transformation flamenco was claimed as 'art' in public and professionalized, dance and music forms, the *zapateos* for example, became more elaborated and woman appeared as *cantaoras* – before then it was rather a male domain (cf. Cruces 2003:129). The first *Café Cantantes* appeared in the middle and the second half of the 19th century (cf. Knipp 2006: 58). Due to the increasing interest in the *baile*, the dance moved into focus and flamenco became more and more a show-business (cf. Claus 1985:106). Through this leap and the commercial character, flamenco developed and changed, male dancers became ascribed to strength – feet-work was 'their' field of showing virtuosity – and female dancers to sensuality – with the arm-work as 'their' field of showing virtuosity (cf. Cruces 2003:133). The guitar appeared as accompaniment instrument and later it stepped out of the background to become an own equal part of the flamenco triangle (cf. Knipp 2006:67).

In the 1920/30s the *Cafés Cantantes* surpassed a crisis ushering a new time with a new genre the *Ópera flamenca* (cf. Cruces 2003:134). This put flamenco into a new situation, which was followed by the creation of flamenco festivals and *tablaos* – here Madrid played a special role, but they emerged as well in other capitals like Barcelona (cf. Grimaldos 2010:119; Cruces 2003: 138). This transformation made flamenco elaborate and popular.
During this transformation the Civil War (1936-1939) affected flamenco because many artists supported the Republicans – the evidence can be found in the *coplas* of this time (cf. Grimaldos 2010:83). The consequence was that many artists fled into exile, like el Niño Utrera, la Argentinita and Pilar López to mention a few, and the Falange, the fascist party of Franco (Spains dictator after the Civil War until 1974) controlled events and forbid certain then popular *coplas* under the dictatorship (cf. ibid.:90). With the so-called *franquismo*, flamenco became Andalusia folkloric and a symbol for Spain (cf. Cruces 2002:98). For 40 years artists could only perform in determined places and had to adapt their form of expression to the regime (cf. Asensio 2004:155). From being a platform of expression for the oppressed minority, flamenco turned into a tool of nationalism and ruling power.

It is impossible to look at flamenco without mentioning Federico García Lorca (1898-1936) a Spanish poet, writer and theatre director. He was born close to Granada, a stronghold of flamenco. Lorca did not only collect passionately flamenco lyrics but wrote poems. His most famous works referring to flamenco are "Romancero Gitano" (1927), "Poemas del cante jondo" (1931) and "Colecciones de canciones populares Españolas" (1931). His lyrics influenced flamenco and many *cantaores* interpreted his poems or dedicated songs to him, like Camarón de la Isla⁴ and Miguel Poveda. Together with the Spanish composer Manuela de Falla Lorca set up the famous competition of *Cante Jondo* held in 1922. The event served to invite unknown artist away from the show-business to participate and to rescue the art of flamenco that Lorca claimed got lost in "Importancia histórica y artística del primitivo cante andaluz, llamado cante jondo"⁵ (1922) and "Arquitectura del Cante Jondo"⁶ (cf. Knipp 2006:119-121). The competition drew again attention towards flamenco and it became subject of interest to poets.

In the Spain of the post-war flamenco had reached far beyond the close familiar space it originated. Flamenco films were screened in cinemas worldwide – most known are

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⁴ One of Camarón de la Isla's most famous songs is "La Leyenda del tiempo" by Federico García Lorca and Ricardo Pachón.

⁵ Translation: "The historical and artistic importance of the primitive Andalusian cante, called jondo"

⁶ Translation: "Architecture of the Cante Jondo"
those of Carlos Saura featuring the dancer Antonio Gades – and many CD's were produced – these days labelled as "ethnic music" genre (Cruces 2002:22). Flamenco artists were famous as well outside Spain, like in France were it became very popular and in Japan, where many local artists named after known Spanish artists (cf. Grimaldos 2015:110).

With Camarón de la Isla and Paco de Lucía the flamenco transformed once again. Camarón revolutionized the genre by introducing cajón and other instruments and Paco de Lucía gained fame outside the flamenco circle through his virtuoso guitar playing with his first composition and album "Entre dos Aguas" (cf. Cruces 2002:225; Grimaldos 2015:253). Both broke with the 'purity' of flamenco to which artists were holding on, by introducing new elements and breaking 'typical' flamenco habits, like crossing legs as Paco de Lucía while playing guitar. In 2014 flamenco received new actuality on behalf of the death of Paco de Lucía on the 26th of February. Another virtuous celebrated flamenco star that passed away, after Camarón de la Isla who died in 1922. Newspapers throughout the world and the social medias expressed the grief of the people. One could find articles with titles like in Spanish newspapers "Se fue el flamenco universal" (Mora 2014), the universal flamenco is gone or in the German newspapers "Der Erneuerer" (Brembeck 2014) the re-newer.

Nowadays many forms of flamenco can be found from peñas to flamenco ballet. Flamenco is taught now in schools and academies but the art lies in the immediacy of the moment of the performance, "tienes que improvisar, cada vez tienes que hacerlo nacer", you have to improvise and make it "born" each time (San Juan 2014). Thus, flamenco is a very individual interpretation and "an exchange of the deepest introversion of an individual and his/her inner tension"7 with the audience (Claus 1985:108). It is a deeply intimate art because the expression of a performance always depends on the performers and how they communicate among each other and how they communicate with the audience (cf. ibid.:108-110). The audience in a flamenco performance maintained and still maintains a special role. During a performance normally the audience interacts with the singer, the dancer and the musicians by making

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7 Original: "Ausdruck introvertierter Innerlichkeit eines Individuums und seiner inneren Spannung"
palmas or shouting encouragements such as "bravo", "ole" or "olé", "guapa/o", "viva tu madre" and "más alegre tío".

The film "La leyenda del tiempo" (2009) by José Sanchez Montes, a documentary tells about the flamenco singer Camarón de la Isla (1950-1992). In the film an interviewee says "flamenco es la música más mestiza del mundo", flamenco is the most mixed music of the world (Sanchez 2009) – a statement, which Juan Campos underlined (Campos 2014). This declaration emphasises that flamenco merges past, contemporary and future forms of music.

2.3 Sociability and Flamenco

Flamenco has been overseen regarding its social role although being topic of interest. It has been subject of research since very early on. One of the earliest documentations are from Antonio Machado y Álvarez known as Demófilo, who formed part of the Anthropological Society of Sevilla and collected flamenco songs in the 19th century published in his work "Colecciones de Cantes Flamencos" in 1881. (Machado y Álvarez 1881). Later even a proper discipline called "flamencology"10 developed.

Flamenco is as well a field of interest for many anthropologist as well as sociologists now a days - and many ethnomusicologists - regarding issues such as "identity" (Chuse 2003; Cruces 1996, 2003; Washabaugh 2012), "heritage" (Cruces 1994, 1996, 2001, 2002; Moreno 2007), "gender" (Cruces 2003; Malefyt 1998; Washabaugh 1998), "gitano/ethnicity" (Washabaugh 2012; Cruces 2002) as well like tradition (the 'pure' flamenco) opposed to the "transcultural" character of flamenco (Steingress 2005).

Regarding the aspect of the sociability of flamenco has been looked at but only poorly studied (cf. Cruces 2002:21). González encounters sociability although he focused on flamenco interpretations in Paris, which can be found in the Parisian cafés (cf. González 2005:11). Source of the sociability is for him the history of the Cafés Cantantes (cf.

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8 Both forms mean actually the same only the accentuation differs although latter one is more expressed at an end. Following I will use the more known version "olé" but referring to both forms.

9 Therefore he uses the word mestiza, historically it was used in the context of the conquistadores in South America, a term used to describe children of native Americans and Spanish citizens.

10 Flamencology is the discipline's own name that was established in the 50's and is dedicated to the study and investigation of flamenco. It can be studied at the University of Málaga for example (cf. URL 1) o Córdoba (cf. URL 2).
Ruiz instead researches particular the sociability of flamenco in the context of migration in the case of Belgium. He researched how migrants from Spain rediscovered flamenco for them abroad as identification instrument and how this creates sociability among the migrants but as well becomes an integration tool between migrants and locals (Ruiz 2011). Next to them Cristina Cruces Roldán is recently one of the main contributors regarding this subject. Due to her importance for the present research she and her contributions will be presented more in detail.

Cruces is a Spanish social anthropologist and presently professor of social anthropology at the University of Seville active researching and publishing on flamenco, she works as well at the "Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía", an independent council that analyses contents and publications of radios and televisions (private and public) to guarantee that they respect the rights of the citizens (regarding liberty of expression, plurality, respecting intimacy and other related topics). Cruces researched, published and coordinated investigations in many fields hardly to be subsumed in one, but her regional focus is always on Andalusia. Her key works are about flamenco, among it she contributed outlines and documents for the candidacy for the declaration of Immaterial and Oral Heritage by the UNESCO. Cruces investigated the phenomenon flamenco from countless perspectives among them history, identity, ethnicity, gender, role of body, collective sociability and audio-visuals (Cruces 2002, 2003, 2012). Furthermore, the female position within dancing in contrast to the male and in the "flamenco society" were and are interest of research. Due to the range of research subject she works with a variety of conceptions, however, among them frequently appear concepts of economical anthropology. Cruces published many papers and articles but her major research results are compactly presented in her books "Antropología y Flamenco. Más allá de la Música (I)" (2002) "Antropología y Flamenco. Más allá de la Música (II)" (2003). These books served me as a point of reference for the present investigation. Cruces first book gives an overview over flamenco on the aspects of "sociabilidad" (sociability), "Transmisión" (transmitting flamenco) and "Patrimonio" (heritage) (ibid. 2002). Flamenco as social phenomenon is explained here from many points of view and as well its integral function. She presents a methodical frame how to study flamenco regarding its collective sociability by means of three levels: the institutionalization grade, the

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11 URL Consejo Audiovisual Andalucía: http://www.consejoaudiovisualdeandalucia.es/ (06.07.15, 20:00)
12 The declaration will be described in greater detail in chapter 2. "Research Context: Flamenco".
participation grade (differences between informal and formal performance of flamenco), and the value of use/change (cf ibid.). The second book gives a historical overview on the socio-political context, the role of women and includes methods analysing the body language of flamenco (ibid. 2003).

2.4 Flamenco in Barcelona

If the city is the space of diversity, the stage is where a variegated group of different identities coexist. (...) flamenco’s presence in Catalonia is not a matter of yesterday or the day before. Rather, all these years of cultivating the genre, of transmission from one generation to the next, have not only built a tradition, but also validated it (...) what counts, at the end, is the result: the blooming and consolidation in a real city of a generation of young flamenco artists, of extraordinary courage and quality. (Mascarell and Pericay 1997:43)

Flamenco arose in Andalusia but was performed and practised throughout Spain and has been lived in Catalonia as described in the quote above, probably influenced by the high migration in the 1960s from Andalusia to Catalonia due to economical conditions.

Talking about flamenco in Barcelona is impossible without mentioning a person who had marked flamenco: Carmen Amaya. Amaya was born in 1913 in Barcelona and daughter of El Chino, flamenco guitar player, who discovered early the talent of his daughter. Her family lived at that time in the famous gitano district of the Somorrostro. Something that becomes clear of Bois book "Carmen Amaya. Die Kunst des Flamencos" is that Amaya – who gained fame under the name la capitana (the chef) – did not only shape flamenco but as well Barcelona (cf. Bois 1997). Although she had gitano/Andalusian roots, she always felt Catalonia as her home. Due to her flamenco virtuosity everyone outside from Spain thought her to be from Andalusia. Often people asked from which city in Andalusia she comes from and she had to respond from Barcelona emphasizing that as well as a Catalan you can dance flamenco (cf. ibid.: 52). Because of her origin she even had to prove her artistic talent in a performance in Seville to be accepted in Andalusia (cf. ibid.:58).

Amaya did not only impress Spain with her dancing but the whole world. She performed all over Europe, South America and the USA. What brought even more fame was the popular film "Los Tarantos" by Rovira Beleta (cf. ibid.:69). She won as well
many prizes, among them a very peculiar prize for special achievements for tourism by the city of Barcelona (cf. ibid.:70).

Amaya was already from appearance a characteristic person and what marked her was wearing trouser while dancing. This was not very common these days and very atypical for women in flamenco. The reason why she did it was because she was virtuous in the *zapateado* (cf. ibid.:100). A revolution within the flamenco scene because women normally concentrated more on arms and hips as mentioned before. She was the first prominent *bailaora* who entered a man dominated area and integrated 'male' characteristic elements into her dancing becoming famous beyond her art for liberating flamenco for women (cf. ibid.:101).

Many events of and about flamenco can be found in Barcelona, like a copy of the "Feria de Abril", the most famous fair hole in Seville. It is a fair with many activities, food, little shops and many carpets with dancers and musicians. When I visited the fair in Barcelona in 2014, there were many carpets with people performing from young to old, from professional groups to amateurs – mainly *Sevillanas* but as well flamenco. Many female dancers and visitors wore typical flamenco dresses and flowers in their hair. The tents had names; one was of the 'la Mina' for example. La Mina is an area in Barcelona known because of the big apparently very closed *gitano* community that lives there. The man, who was singing and playing the guitar in the tent I recognized from the 23 Robadors, where he once went to, played *toque* and sang as well.

Next to the fair there is a yearly festival organized by the civil centre of the area of Besòs of Barcelona called "*(In)fusión flamenca. Cicle de flamenc al Besòs*n*14. Barcelona". It is a festival with performances from *cante, baile* to fusions like jazz-flamenco and talks about and on flamenco. In the context of the festival I visited in 2013 the book presentation of "Bailar Flamenco (+DVD)" (2013) by Carmen Caparrós. Caparrós is *bailaora* since 1980 and danced in many shows around the world, now dedicating to teach dance in her own Flamenco Dance Studio in Barcelona. In her book she explains some principles of flamenco and introduces four important and often

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13 *Sevillana* is a subgroup of flamenco often not recognized as flamenco.
15 URL of the dance studio: http://www.estudidansacarmencaparros.com/
performed *palos*. Later I found out that the percussionist of the 23 Robadors on Saturdays is percussionist in her school and also participated in the DVD.

Apart from the festivals there are many *"peñas Andalucías"* so called *"Casas Andalucias"*, where migrants from Andalusia and aficionados meet to perform flamenco. The concept of *Casa Andalucía* is a quiet known establishment as well among non-Andalusians. A popular one in Barcelona is the "*Rincón Flamenco*" in the centre of Barcelona.

Flamenco is as well performed in big concert halls, like the famous *"Palau de la música*" (Barcelonese Art Nouveau building with mainly classical concerts) and the *"Liceu"* (the opera and ballet house of Barcelona) where tickets costs 30€ upwards.

Furthermore you find many *tablao* and *peñas* in Barcelona. Most advertised are the *"El tablao de Carmen Amaya*, "Tablao Flamenco Cordobès", "Los Tarantos". First mentioned *tablao* is in honour of Carmen Amaya and located in the *Pueblo Espanyol*, a relic of the Expo in 1929, a place to have dinner while listening and seeing a flamenco show – a very elaborate and nice promotion-video of the bar and Barcelona welcomes the visitor on their website\(^{16}\). The *Tablao Flamenco Cordobès\(^{17}\) is located right in the centre street of Barcelona en la *Rambla*. Young women dressed up as 'flamencas', with flower in their hair advertising on the *Ramblas*, handing out flyers. Additionally, there were advertisements in the metros on the metro screen (this observation goes back to 2014). Another known but smaller *tablao* is the *Los Tarantos\(^{18}\) next to the *Plaza Real*, a square of historic buildings and lights by Gaudi with many discos in Clubs. The *tablao* counts to the oldest ones in Barcelona and is well known among the locals. In these *tablao* they show exclusively flamenco (with few exceptions maybe) but there are as well other places in Barcelona where they offer live performances and among them flamenco like *"Arco de la Virgen", "La rouge"* and *"Lupita"* in the district of *el Raval* (including 23 Robadors) and *"Café Royal"* and *"El siete"* in the district of *el Gòtic*. A typical one-week flamenco tour in Barcelona according to my research partner would be: Monday day of relax, Tuesday *Café Royal*, Wednesday another day of relax,

\(^{16}\) URL of the tablao: http://www.tablaodecarmen.com/

\(^{17}\) URL of the tablao: http://www.tablaocordobes.es/es

\(^{18}\) URL Info to the tablao: http://www.flamencotickets.com/de/los-tarantos-barcelona (12.07.15, 20:00h)
Thursday *Lupita*, Friday *El siete* or *La Rouge*, Saturday *23 Robadors* and Sunday *Arco de la Virgen* (Violeta and Oscar 2014).
3 Theoretical Framing

In this chapter a short overview will be given on performing arts as research subject in cultural and social anthropology, highlighting important studies and researchers who were and are still influential in this field. This will be followed by an outline of central analytical concepts for the empirical part of this work including the two central key concepts of collective sociability and communitas.

3.1 Performing Arts and Anthropology

Dealing with performing arts has a long tradition in cultural and social anthropology, though at its early stages more on the background of ritual, religion and folklore, and very poorly studied regarding their social integral role. Interests of research were oral traditions, religious ceremonies, music and dance forms. Documentation on performances during their fieldwork can already be found by prominent anthropologists from the late 19th and early 20th century among them Radcliffe Brown, Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski (cf. Neveu and Skinner 2012:4). However, although performing arts were subject of discussion they were marginal in the field of research mostly in the context of ritual. This is particularly credited to Arnold van Gennep and his study of "les rites de passage" (van Gennep 1981), where he investigated how individuals are accompanied by rituals while changing their status in society, like initiation. Van Gennep divides the ritual process in three stages: separation, transition (liminal phase) and re-integration (cf. ibid.:14). Rituals as well as ritualized patterns play a major role within performance. Van Gennep had an influence on Victor Turner (British anthropologist of the structural-functional tradition) and Richard Schechner (theatre director and professor in performance studies) who both contributed towards the development of performance as a proper research field. Turner adopted van Gennep's ideas of liminal processes and developed them further in his work "The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure" (Turner 1969). Here he evolves his notion of communitas opposing it to the concept of 'society'. This is a central concept for the present research,
which will be explained more detailed below. This consideration of performing arts and
social union induced a shift in the perception of performance towards its social
importance. Another essential contribution of Turner is on metaphors affected by his
symbolic approach, presented in his work: "Drama, Fields, And Metaphors. Symbolic
Action in Human Society" (Turner 1974). He presents there, metaphors as a form of
tacit knowledge, and further writes on aspects of time, rituals and liminality in relation
to performance. In his late years Turner worked more symbolically within the field of
performing arts, orientating more towards a new approach: the Anthropology of
Experience. In this young field Turner saw "experience" as exterior event that happens
and evokes an inner reaction opposed to a "mere experience" which is passive (Turner
1986: 34). Schechner, who collaborated with Turner, evolved some aspects of this
approach further, particularly influenced through his theatre background. For Schechner
performance is a form of art and art is an imitation of the 'real' of nature (cf. Schechner
1988:37).

The avant-garde from the Italian Futurists through the Dadaists, Surrealists, (...) introduces
us to the idea that art is not a way of imitating reality or expressing states of mind. At the
heart of what Kaprow calls a mystery is the simple but altogether upsetting idea of art as an
event - an "actual". (ibid.:36)

Hence, performance is an active art or in Schechner's words an "event", which differs
from every day life. Further he divides the "actual" in five basic qualities. Two of this
basic qualities are adaptable to the present research. The first quality is regarding the
important role of participants in a performance and where the act of imitation introduces
a change of status (cf. ibid.:58).

(...) competent individuals are most often enacted in front of an audience, which also has
the right and responsibility to interact with performers, making them "co-performers," the
context of performance is central to understanding and appreciating its emergent quality.
(Korom 2013:3)

The "emergent quality" refers to the present character of performance, it happens in the
'here and now'. Second quality is "space", which "is used concretely and organically"
(Schechner 1988:59).

For both Turner and Schechner, performance is processual with a starting point and an
ending: "Performance are never amorphous or openended, they have diachronic
structure, a beginning, a sequence of overlapping but isolable phases and an end"
(Turner 1988:80). Hence, performance is subject to sequences, where actions take
place. These actions are not random but ritualized or formalized (cf. Schechner 1988:95). However, within the ritualization and between beginning and end is liberty of improvisation, time and space for "chaos and spontaneity" (Turner 1988:93). The formalization or the ritualized procedure gives room to this while framing the interplay. In "The Future of the Ritual" (Schechner 1993) Schechner discusses the use of the term "ritual" and comes to the conclusion that it has been used in so many different contexts from "sacred", over describing animal behaviour onto "aesthetical ritual", that it has become overused (cf. ibid.:229). The term implies a comprehension from ritual as "rebound" to ritual as framework to "spillover" for society (ibid.:240). For the present research only the ritualized procedure is of research interest.

The fields and aspects Turner and Schechner worked on helped to establish 'performance' as proper research field not only within anthropology but as well as an own academic field 'performance studies' and to step out of the enclosed context of ritual and religion to new areas including dance, music and theatre among others. Beyond this, new issues became illuminated, like the social importance within the socio-political context and the relation of performance to power or counter-power for example (cf. Neveu and Skinner 2012:2).

Since its origins, the study of performing arts embraces many areas from verbal to oral art, dance and music and much more (cf. Korom 2013:2). "Anthropology of Dance" - although part of performance - established as own field in the 1960'/70's (cf. Neveu and Skinner 2012:2) as well "Ethnomusicology with the focus on music and oral traditions (Maeder 2014:424). However, within the discipline the perception of the phenomenon 'dance' ranges from biological conceptions, to an understanding of dance such as "culturally patterned sequences of non-verbal body movements" (Lynne 1996:146) or seen as a form of "human behaviour" (Lynne 1989:128). There are similar wide ranging approaches to 'music', where it can be seen thought its relation to the body, or perceive it as "a form of creative social practice" (Stokes 1996:348). Besides music 'sound' as such has received attention, notably on three different fields: "sound ecology and acoustic communication", "sonic experience and sonic effects" and "auditory culture and sound culture studies" (Maeder 2014:425). The present research is embedded in performing arts but lies as well in the cross-field of dance, music and sound, further it
shows an interdisciplinary character regarding the analytical concepts that have been used and will be explained below. The "study of performing arts" as departure point allows dissociating from the necessity of 'labelling' flamenco. As a consequence, this opens the research field to a wider understanding of the art of flamenco including more concepts than dance and music. Yet, both elements form part of the research due to their integral role, showed already in the title of this work. A performance includes many layers of meaning itself, historically, the performer who performs, the audience who interprets which raises the research interest and makes the research itself more complex (cf. Royce 2004:12). Moreover, the 'body' plays an important role due to the "embodied nature of performing arts" (ibid.:2). The body as means of expressions, the body as transmitter and receiver both for performer and audience:

Performance are aesthetic practices – patterns of behaviour, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment – whose repetitions situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities. (Kapchan 1995:479)

In the case of the present research not regarding identity but regarding sociability. Hence, the notion of 'body' within the study of performing arts is important due to the "bodily comportment" and the body through which we experience art (cf. Royce 2004:3).

3.2 Central Analytical Concepts

Subsequently the succeeding central analytical concepts are going to be exemplified: agents, actions, looking, listening, space, social space, body, embodied-space and sound. However, they are not listed in their order of appearance within the empirical part of this work (in chapter five) but relying theoretically on each other. At the end the key concepts of communitas and collective sociability will be highlighted.

Agents: Gell explains in "Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory" (Gell 1998) "art" as agency and develops theoretically a model of how the elements of social agent, 'index', 'artist', 'recipient' and 'prototype' produce agency while interacting. The linking element is the process of abduction derivated from semiotics. Gell concludes how these components work together and make art be it 'human' (eg. dance) or 'artefact' (eg.
painting) turn into social agency. His *agency* concept is apt to embed the role of the
artists and audience within a flamenco performance. In his view, any person can be
considered as social agent or has the capacity to be one (cf. ibid.:16).

Agency is attributable to those persons (and things, see below) who/which are seen as
initiating causal sequences of a particular type, that is, events caused by acts of mind or will
or intention, rather than the mere concatenation of physical events. An agent is one who
'causes events to happen' in their vicinity. As a result of this exercise of agency, certain
events transpire (not necessarily the specific event which were 'Intended' by the agent). (...)agents initiate 'actions' which are 'caused' by themselves, by their intentions, not by the
physical laws of cosmos. (ibid.)

*Agents* are persons or artefacts who initiate actions that have effects, the capacity of
affecting is *agency*. Further, initiating actions can have varied motivations.

**Actions:** For the analytical category *actions* the "habitus" concept by the French
sociologist and anthropologist Bourdieu will be used. However, I will use the term
actions within the empirical part instead of habitus, to make clear that I refer to the
habitus of performance (actions) and not the habitus of every day life.

The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (...) produce *habitus*,
systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function
as structuring structures, that is as principles of the generation and structuring of practices
and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" (...) collectively
orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor .(Bourdieu
1997:72)

With the term "dispositions" Bourdieu refers to the "result of an organizing action" further it is as well related to a "way of being" in the context of flamenco rather a way
of performing (ibid.:214).

Regarding the interaction within a group or other agents he describes it as following:

(...) in the interaction between two agents or groups of agents endowed with the same
habitus (...) everything takes place as if the actions of each of them (...) were organized in
relation to the reactions they call forth from any agent possessing the same habitus
(ibid.:73).

The motivation of the *action* (habitus) is socially determined, in the case of flamenco
for example this can be due to symbolical or aesthetical reasons (cf. ibid.:76). Groups
that are not familiar with the other habitus react differently to it, which can have an
influence on the actions due to their agency. The "modus operandi", as Bourdieu calls it,

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19 This quote is set in italic in the original reference.
20 This quote is set in italic in the original reference.
the way of acting becomes "transmitted in practice" or imitation (ibid.:87). In relation to performing arts this would be what is taught on the one side and what was historically passed on the other, like the types of flamenco, the rhythms and figures of dance in flamenco.

**Looking:** The category *action* is divided in subgroups that emerged as emic categories, partly to be defined out of the field subsuming two aspects. On the one hand *looking* refers to an action of the artists that operates as code or communication between them, on the other hand it refers to the audience looking at the artists. The latter relates to the notion of *gaze* that describes the visual consumption of a performance a concept that goes back to Urry (cf. Scarngaella 2012:78). Scarngaella McNenly develops the concept in her work on the "Tourist Encounter at Hiwus Feasthouse". The tourist context is part of my research field as well. She describes different types of "tourist gazes" like the "romantic/collective" or the "historical/modern" and the "authentic/inauthentic" (ibid.:79). According to her, the gazing experience is not an uncontrolled action but guided through the performance it steps in relation (cf. ibid.:80). Furthermore, with Foucault's concept of "power" in the background, the show and the gaze can become an interplay of power because it can shift (cf. ibid.:81). Hence, it is not only a looking 'at' but looking 'at what', which is an important analytical aspect for a flamenco performance.

**Listening:** The *action* of *listening* is conducted under the same point of view like *looking*.

Hearing, which had previously been considered a reactive physiological function, was thus shifted much closer to, and increasingly conflated with, the mental faculty of listening. Once neurologists had found the ear to be an electrochemical transducer and an electrical amplifier (...). Listening, which had been supposed to be selective and wilful, had long been contrasted with hearing, which was supposed to be indiscriminate and automatic; but turn-of-the-century studies of hypnotism, catatonia, coma (...). (Schwartz 2003:488)

The quote above underlines clearly the polarity of 'hearing' and *listening* actions. 'Hearing' is here more an activity and *listening* the way of hearing, which refers already to a selective process. I decided to use the term *listening* due to the emic aspect because the performance was often described as a form of communication and the artists wanted
people to 'listen' (Spanish _escuchar_) to them.

**Space:** Leaning on Marxist philosophy and ideas, Henri Lefebvre discusses different perspectives of _space_, like _social space_ in relation to state and capitalism. Certain aspects of his _space_ notion and _social space_ are apt for my analysis.

Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally populated with ideologies. There is an ideology of space. Why? Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears given as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product. (Brenner and Elden 2009:171)

Hence, _space_ is defined through its relations, ascriptions and the way it is organized (cf. ibid.:186). The "spatial practice", as Lefebvre calls it, is what defines the _space_ (cf. ibid.:187). Hence, the 'function' of _space_ is fragmented into various _spaces_, like labour (space of work), production (space to produce), transit (travelling-space), consumption (consuming space) and leisure. In the 23 Robadors, there is an intersection of three _spaces_: work (regarding the artists), leisure and consumption regarding the audience (cf. ibid.:214). This leads to next concept of _social space_ because: "Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it also is producing and produced by social relations" (ibid.:186).

**Social Space:** 'Another' _space_ emerges through the social relations and interactions reproduced within this space through "material" and "immaterial" support (cf. ibid.:189). In the present work this means that through _space_, consumption (material) correlating with relations and _actions_ (immaterial), a _social space_ is produced. The role of body plays a role to _social space_ regarding Lefebvre. He says:

Within the reach of the body, that is, of the hands, it is what is useful or harmful to it: beyond this proximity begins the social space that stretches out without well-defined limits into physical and cosmic space. (ibid.:229)

For him the _social space_ emerges through proximity and 'moves' to the meta level over the physical space into the 'cosmic space'.

**Body:** Before outlining the concept of _embodied-space_ the notion of body itself shall be illustrated. The notion for the analysis is taken from the field of the anthropology of medicine.
Nancy Sheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock write in their article "The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology" (Sheper-Hughes and Lock 1987) about the body and demonstrate three ways of understanding it.

The Individual Body: Here they write about the individual body, of ways how it is perceived and the experience of the body self (cf. ibid.:8-11). In this context they also refer to Descartes and his works about body, like "Passions of the soul" (ibid.:9). They further write about the body in the context of Cartesian effects and explain it as following: "Pain, it seems, was either\(^{21}\) physical or\(^{22}\) mental, biological or psycho-social – never both nor something not- quite-either" (ibid.:10). In addition, they give examples of the diverse body perception in different countries and cultures.

The Social Body: Sheper-Hughes and Lock write about the social body and explain the representational use of the body and the social disharmony in respect to it (cf. ibid.:18). They present how the society divides the bodies into healthy and sick, which depending on the culture also embodies the disruption of the land (cf. ibid.:20).

The Political Body: Here they present the example of the political body and how community experiences, like threatening, are expressed through the body (cf. ibid.:23-28). What happens with this embodiment is that the boundaries between political and social bodies become blurred.

At the end of their article the authors explain the important role of emotions on and in the body, relating it to all three body forms (cf. ibid.:28).

For this work only the concepts of the individual body the social body were used. Historically the political body regarding identity and the history of the gipsies might be very interesting.

**Embodied-Space:** The embodied space is a mixture of the concept of body and space, therefore, Low's article on "Anthropological Theories of Body, Space, and Culture", which summarizes concepts of space and body progressing them to the concept of a body-space, will serve as basis for the analysis.

In her article Low introduces the term embodied spaces which describes the "material/conceptual intersectionality" of body, space and culture and further allows to

\(^{21}\) The term "either" is set in italics in the original reference.

\(^{22}\) The term "or" is set italics in the original reference.
bring together two dialectic notions "of the body as a physical and biological entity, lived experience, and a centre of agency, a location for speaking and acting on the world" (Low 2003:10). She understands body as biological concept differing it from embodiment, which is understood as a "perceptual experience" based on the notion of Csordas (Csordas 1994) (cf. ibid.:10). Low presents different notions of space, body, body-space and proxemics of scholars like Bryan Turner (Body), Eric Erikson (Body relation to Space) and Eward Hall (Proxemics), to only mention a few. The body has been often neglected in spatial conceptions and vice versa but a new comprehension developed including the "importance of movement in the creation of place" understanding the individual as a "embodied space in which the body" itself is seen "as a moving spatial field" (ibid.:14). This implies the possibilities and restrictions of the embodied space. The possibility of motion inherits the capacity to "place in the world" but is limited through the "spatial field". Low fusions body and space to a body-space, where the separation of both becomes erased:

This integration notion of embodied space addresses the metaphorical and material aspects of the body in space as well as body/space to communicate, transform, and contest existing social structures. (ibid.:16).

Two important aspects of body namely the "material" and "metaphorical" become conflated within the notion of embodied-space.

**Sound:** Roland Barthes presents to approaches two music in the chapter "Musica Practica" (Barthes 1977):

There are two musics (at least so I have always thought): the music one listens to, the music one plays. These two musics are two totally different arts, each with its own history, its own sociology its own aesthetics, its own erotic; the same composer can be minor if you listen to him, tremendous if you play him (even badly) – such is Schumann. (ibid.:149)

Barthes shows here several notions of music: the music listener and the music player, both sides are present in flamenco and correlating simultaneously. However, the term sound was used for the present research because of the following aspects:

There has been a line drawn between sound and musical sound, describing disciplinary demarcation and maintaining musical integrity at an historical juncture in which there were the means to do otherwise. In the absence of any practical challenge from the other arts, music was considered the sine qua non of the arts of sound, and what appeared to be a challenge mounted by avant-garde music was instead primarily a recuperation of sound into musical preoccupations. (Kahn 2003:77)
Flamenco may be understood as *music* but as well as *sound* with respect to the percussion of feet and the hand clapping and shout-outs\(^\text{23}\), which all are part of the 'flamenco music'. Hence, the word sound as such within the quote above implies as well "musical sound" and fits to the present study. It should get a mention here that there are various traditions of sound and music, e.g. "aurality" which have not been taken into account and the analysis has been done on basis of the authors occidental education (cf. ibid.:78).

Though "sound" is an analytical unit it cannot be seen detached from *body* and vice versa because as Barthe's put it: "(...) the body controls, conducts, co-ordinates, having itself to transcribe what it reads, making sound and meaning, the body as inscriber and not just transmitter, simply receiver" (Barthes 1977:149). The body as producer and "receiver" of sound inherits a particular role in the analysis of sound.

**Communitas**

*Communitas*\(^\text{24}\) is a concept to describe a social group, introduced into the context of anthropology by Turner to distinguish the *communitas* from everyday life relations, which are implied by using the term "community" (cf. Turner 1969:96). Turner juxtaposes the existence of communitas to an institutionalized social structure, the latter one is present outside the *communitas* but both require each other to exist and can only be understood through their relation to each other (cf. ibid.:126). He distinguishes three forms of *communitas*: *spontaneous*, *normative* and *ideological.*

These forms are neither pure nor static units, they can develop into a different form as well. The first type can emerge unforeseen between humans any time and is characterized through a lack of structure and an "absolute equality" (cf. ibid.:126). This *spontaneous communitas* serves to escape a life in structure and therefore evokes a good feeling, but only for a determined time, which means the *communitas* has an ending like the performance itself. It is about sharing the same experience and finding something in common (cf. ibid.:138). With respect to a performance this would mean sharing the same "event". Turner exemplifies this as following:

> The kind of communitas desired by tribesmen in their rites and by hippies in their "happenings" is not the pleasurable and effortless comradeship that can arise between

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\(^{23}\) This refers to Jaleos which are going to be explaine below.

\(^{24}\) The term is withdrawn from the Latin noun.
Turner limits *spontaneous communitas* here strictly to daily coincidences; friendship for instance means for him socializing on a different level.

*Normative communitas* is the structured form of a group that developed through time into a sustainable social system because it begun to require organization (cf. Turner 1969:132). *Idealogical communitas* is an escalation of the two former models and could be used for utopian forms of society. Both *normative* and *idealogical communitas* have the same point of origin believing in *existential communitas* (cf. ibid.). In terms of flamenco it could be asked if the *gitanos* understand themselves as an *idealistic communitas*.

Turner introduces the term *communitas* in the context of liminality rites. Normally liminality is observed in contexts of fertility like in the "isoma rite" for example (cf. Turner 1969:10-16). However, I left the concept aside in my investigation because the performance I researched on was not embedded in the common issues of liminality.

**Collective Sociability**

The other key concept, which frames the investigation, is the concept of the *collective sociability*. It goes back to the French historian and sociologist Maurice Agulhon (1977) and the sociologist and studied anthropologist Michel Bozon (1982). Cruces took this concept of "*sociabilidad*" in her work and put it in the context of flamenco.

(...) el ámbito de la interacción social, el conjunto de acciones y relaciones que vinculan a los individuos en grupos más amplios que interactúan, y el modo en que éstas se materializan en contextos concretos, es decir, la sociabilidad colectiva. (Cruces 2002:21).

Cruces says that a flamenco performance taking place in a surrounding of social interactions, in a unit of actions and relations, which connect the individuals to a bigger group that interacts, creates collective sociability. How this phenomenon develops and to which extent depends also on the space, if it is public or private for example (cf. ibid.:22). This in turn influences the meaning of the performance or the purpose of it.

Cruces presents three variables of how to approach the plurality of "ritualizations of flamenco" as well as the sociability:
Level of institutionalization: Here she refers to which degree does the sociability happens spontaneously and to which degree it is formalized (cf. ibid.:25). This is an important aspect to be illuminated in the evaluation process of the research data.

Grade of participation: This relates to the role of the audience during a flamenco performance. Their active- or passiveness has not only an impact on the artists, but also on the sociability (cf. ibid.).

The "value of use" and the "value of exchange": The "value of use" derives from economical anthropology and refers to collective satisfaction with no further intention than to satisfy a necessity, in this case to enjoy (cf. ibid.:26). The "value of exchange" means the transformation of a ritual into a good, the commercialisation of flamenco, the production of 'folklore' and mass consummation (cf. ibid.).

The concept of communitas and collective sociability embraces the preceding presented concepts of agents, actions, looking, listening, space, social space, body, embodied-space and sound. Their interplay causes the experience of collective sociability and the formation of communitas. Agents, actions and space form the main categories for the empirical section of this work with looking, listening, body and sound as subgroup to actions and social space and embodied-space as subgroup to space.

Based on the theoretical framing the methodical approach will be exposed.
4 Methodical Approach

Ethnographic research is always potentially multi-method. (Atkinson 2015:38)

The methods that have been used in the field and for the analysis shall be exposed here, divided in subgroups of "collection of data" and "analysis of data". Due to the important role of grounded theory approaches throughout the entire research, core aspects that have served as constant orientation will be presented in advance.

Combining "analytic procedure with constant comparison" was a steady process during the research and analysis (Glaser and Strauss 2009:102). Comparing was support to define useful methods in data collection, data analysis, to cross-check and adapt them through the research on the field. Stages of constant comparative method were partly followed: "1) comparing incidents applicable to each category, 2) integrating categories and their prosperities, 3) delimitating the theory" (ibid.:105). The divers methods outlined hereafter base on these phases. Oscillating data collection and data analysis allowed crystallizing essential incidents for the research, to formulate categories, to name prosperities, formulate questions, narrowing the research problem and to limit applicable theories. The last stage "writing theory" became excluded because existent concepts and theories became applied on the results.

4.1 Collection of Data

Twelve months of research, the ‘constancy’ of the field and an over-viewable seize – regarding performance/space, artists, time frame – provided a margin to try and reveal deductively methods and to obtain a deeper insight into the phenomenon.

Subsequent the used methods for data collection will be exposed divided in central methods and audio-visual methods. Although the first part includes audio-visual methods in terms of the sense, secondly implies the technical issues.
4.1.1 Methods

Central methods were participant observation, standardized and not-standardized observation, hanging around, informal conversations, ero-epical/ ethnographical conversations, narrative partly standardized interviews with artists, audience and experts and field notes.

At the beginning I gathered data 'freely' without framing my first approaches to the field and than filtered from my empirical insight my research direction, categories and theoretical framework (cf. Lamnek 2005:117). The informal approximation allowed to gain significant information out of the field without opposing my ideas, the 'daily experience' and being involved brought new insights questioning preliminary conclusions or shaping them (cf Spittler 2001:21).

Participant Observation

Through participant observation, it has to be in its broader sense to feel and experience as well, not just the act, the researcher can gain “intuitive understanding of what’s going on” (Bernard 2011:266). This is an important step towards formulating questions, defining the research field as well as methods and theory.

The possibility to be a part of the audience gave me the chance to experience the interaction through listening, seeing and feeling it myself to be participant and observer at the same time, to immerse myself into the social action (cf. Bernard 2011:238). I could choose between being an active and passive participant, adapted to the audience’s “mood” of joying in the jaleos shouting olé or doing palmas. "Flexible fieldwork also means that our research is a developmental, interactive process" (Atkinson 2015:35): This signifies that as a researcher you have to adapt to field and at the same time know about your role as a researcher and as individual who acts and reacts on what is happening, in the field there is no linearity to follow. Few times independently of the active- or passiveness of the audience, I shouted a more timid olé to the artist’s performance because I was impressed by his or her contribution and wanted to express it: “(...) you are (...) supposed to know what it feels like rather than simply act as a detached witness“ (Witt 2001:92). Being not only in the field but part of it allows as well to gain expertise like language, in this case learning terms used only within the context of flamenco (cf. Atkinson 2015:43). Halfway through I did a break to gain
distance to my field and research and overlook my methods, search for new and as well to give the informants a break and to go back to compare incidents (cf. Bernard 2011:218).

**Hanging around**

Hanging around may sound funny for some and especially with acquaintances outside my discipline I had to struggle to defend the method. However, before a researcher can get into “action” regarding questioning and interviewing s/he has to know how the “rules” are in the field, how to behave and when there is time to ask and when to remain a silent observer (cf. Bernard 2011:277). I often came before the performance started because it turned out to be the best time to have short conversations, to get to know each other and stayed on during the Jam Session. This helped to "work out how to tackle the questions of selectivity and perspective in observation (...)" (Mason 2002:89). Immersed I tried to keep a “research distance” – which was difficult in such a surrounding because people come there to have fun and enjoyment.

"Hanging out builds trust, or rapport\(^{25}\), and trust results in ordinary conversations and ordinary behaviour in your presence” (Bernard 2011:277): This *hanging around* or out gave me different insights, before, during and after the performance, formed an essential basis for the interviews and also made me part of the bar. If I was absent for a whole weekend Yussef (bartender) and Ali (who collects the entrance fees for the flamenco performance) welcomed me with a “you have not been here for some while”.

**Standardized and not-standardized observation**

The observation was alternating between standardized and not-standardized. Not-standardized observation allowed me to adapt to the “living environment” get in contact with the audience and the performers gathering first impressions (cf. Adler and Adler 1994:378). Being an observer of the flamenco performance myself and part of the audience too, I became an insider of the subjective point of view of the audience on a level, that I experienced with them the heat, the silence, the rhythm, the sweat of the artists, the crying of the singer, the vibration of the Zapateos. Hence, my role as a researcher in the field was that of an "active member" (ibid.:380). The open observation

\(^{25}\) The word "rapport" is set in black in the original reference.
turned into a more "focused observation" that lead me to more focal observation aspects (cf. ibid.:381). After questioning and reflecting the incidences the observation became standardized for the next performances divided into (cf. ibid.):

- actions of individual artists (eg. only bailora)
- sound
- body
- feet
- audience

Sometime I focused on only one detail, for example only the feet of everyone throughout the first part of the performance because I was told that I will find out in this way the beat of the different palos. This helped me to "focus on establishing and refining the characteristics of and relations among the elements they [referring to the researcher] have previously selected as objects of study" (ibid.). This shapes categories that are compared according to the guidelines of the grounded theory to narrow down the research problem until it comes to a theoretical saturation (cf. ibid.). However, the interplay of the diverse kinds of observation helped me in the next step to recognize motifs of actions and construct emic categories for the analysis as well as to discover new aspects or falsify wrong pre-assumptions (see next point for more details).

**Interviews**

To capture a more global sight of the performance interviews were made with the artists who perform at the 23 Robadors and with the audience who assisted them.

- **The problem-centred interview**
  
The problem-centred interview is mixture of half-standardized and narrative interview, it aims to give room to the interviewee to articulate and develop thoughts (cf. Hopf 1991:178).
  
  For the artist I chose this interview form and formulated six open questions. The partially structure helped me to have a thread to focus on throughout the interview and to compare the answers (cf. ibid.:178). The open questions allowed the interviewee to reveal like in a narrative interview and to structure it individually (cf. Lamnek 2005:364-366). The questions were for all artists generally the same but adapted on the different role each artists plays in a
performance. The interview was structured in 4 phases, 1) "introduction phase" with an open question, 2) "general exploration", this was more concentrated on examples of the 23 Robadors, 3) "specific exploration", questions and uncertainties that came up during the interview were asked (ibid.:365).

The artist’s interviews were made six months after entering the field. The purpose was to formulate questions out of the survey phase and to verify gained knowledge and previous hypothesis during the interview (cf. ibid.:364). Three interviews took place in a bar close to the Robadors and four in the field.

• **Narrative Interview**

The narrative interview is a special form of the qualitative interview, useful with experts who have competence in a special topic (cf. Lamnek 2005:357). Due to the openness of this interview, experts can reveal their knowledge and stories, particularly regarding their personal history (cf. Hopf 1995:179). Like the problem-centred interview this has several stages, which always start directly initiated by the interviewee with a narrating phase followed by an inquiry and balancing phase (cf. Lamnek 2005:358-359). Only few expert interviews were made.

• **Ergo-Epical conversations**

This interview form is very open and more conversation like, it allows the interviewee to ask questions (cf. Girtler 2001:147). This interview form is as well known as ethnographic interview and implies elements of the narrative interview. Like the narrative interview it is focused on the interviewee and the freedom to structure the interview and argumentation as well as to come up with new topics (cf. Lamnek 2005:357).

For the first six months the audience interviews took place in form of ergo-epical conversation in an informal context. Often the informal conversation occurred in the field, after laying open my ambitions at the 23 Robadors right at the beginning a reciprocal asking followed and turned into an ergo-epical conversation. In and out of these conversations other questions emerged because often visitors were asking me many questions (cf. Girtler 2001:149).
informal conversations proceeded in the field, normally in the break or after the show.

- **Standardized interview**
  The standardized interview makes it through its structured form possible to compare interviews afterwards (cf. Bernard 2011:159).
  After the interviews with the artists four standard questions were formulated for the audience. The questions were held short so it was possible to ask in the field. In advance, they were asked their names and where they come from, than 1) How they got to know the bar, 2) What is their interest in flamenco, 3) What they liked most, 4) How they feel now and after the performance. Aims were to find out more about their motivation, their understanding of flamenco, if it affects them and to compare it, to see what are the similarities or differences in order to tighten crucial incidents (cf. Glaser and Strauss 2009:113).

**Fieldnotes**
Fieldnotes are a crucial tool during the research. At the beginning a researcher should collect everything to gather categories for building a theoretical frame (cf. Lamnek 2005:117). Hence, the writing down of fieldnotes had a major role throughout the research. From my recordings of the nights at the 23 Robadors, over reflections on probable theories to unplanned conversations on flamenco out of the field, ideas on coding, memos everything was documented in a field diary (cf. Glaser and Strauss 2009:107-109). Sometimes explicit head-notes were written down during the fieldwork but often only notes that became completed afterwards through the implicit tacit knowledge. Therefore different styles of writing were chosen from ranging diary, temporary notes, questions to specific notes, special records and maps (like of the place and its order) (cf. Ellen 1984:282).

4.1.2 **Audio-Visual Methods**
Sarah Pink, currently one of the major contributors to visual anthropology, writes at the beginning of her work "The Future of Visual Anthropology, Engaging senses"(Pink 2006) that "a related analysis of the relationship between the visual and other senses
through an engagement with recent development in the anthropology of senses" should be perceived (ibid.:3). Dealing with performative art this statement seems apt to integrate a research tool that captures two major components of flamenco, sight and hearing.

A film was planned at the end of the research but because of various reasons not realizable (yet). Two types of photo cameras and one audio-recorder documented several performances. Although it is a "public" space and people from the audience take constantly photographs during shows for reasons of ethical policy I asked beforehand for permission and informed artists about my intentions. The artists themselves were interested in the material for their personal records. Hence, my gathered data served for mutual sharing with my research partners (cf. Beer 2003:21). In addition, the photos became supplemented by photos displayed on the 23 Robadors website on flamenco performances.

Photography

Due to the space conditions a small digital camera\textsuperscript{26} served for frequent documentation from diverse angles. Unfortunately by reasons of light circumstances in the bar the photos that were made especially with the little camera have a bad quality. José Orozco García, trained in audio-visuals – whom I knew through a shared project on documentary photography – offered me his support and accompanied me once with a professional camera\textsuperscript{27} while I was recording sound. From a former visit together he knew previously about the size of the bar, the light circumstances and besides anticipated what happens. According to my observation a vague shooting script was made that we discussed in advance. On the one hand the focus should be on the communicative aspect and the body and on the other hand he should follow his impulses. I introduced José Orozco García to the artists before the performance because the camera model was ostentatious. We sat rather "hidden" to not disturb but with enough sight to capture the event.

The images had a use on three methodological levels:

\textsuperscript{26} A Lumix, Leica, 1.2.8-5.1/5.5-16.5
\textsuperscript{27} Canon EOS 600D (all photos were shot in Manual mode) with two Objectives: 1) Canon EF 50mm f/1.8 II 2) Canon EF-S 18-55mm f/3.5-5.6
1) **Documentation and Photo-Essay:**

The visual documentation serves as instrument of remembrance and therefore helps to reconstruct the evening and to reflect on field notes through a different medium.

"The photographic-essay is normally driven by a strong narrative which links one image to the next in sequence, (...) through a more abstract association of ideas" (Banks 2001:145): Hence, as support of the written work a photo-essay shall serve as an additional method presenting the research field. Although originated in journalism, the use of photo-essay to present images in an elaborate manner like written text has gained more use in ethnographic works through the development of visual anthropology (cf. ibid.:147).

2) **Content Analysis:**

It is a "method of analysing visual images that was originally developed to interpret written and spoken texts: content analysis" (Rose 2012:81)

The content analysis served to broaden the participant observation with a distant point of view by analysing the photos. First step to the content analysis was finding my images, so I did a list of the 400 and marked those who had good quality, then I divided my categories for coding and coded the images (cf. ibid.:87). On basis of the results questions for the photo-elicitation became formulated.

3) **Photo-elicitation.**

Photo-elicitation is "the use of photographs during the interview process" and goes back to John Colllier junior (Lapenta 2011:201). Therefore, friends who accompanied me were interviewed because "things are talked about in these sorts of interviews that don't get discussed in talk-only interviews" and the results will complement the talk-only interviews with the artists (Rose 2012:306). Furthermore it will help me to crosscheck the image analysis with the outcome of the photo-elicitation. The photo-elicitation was made online via the google forms with several standard questions on their knowledge of
flamenco and questions to 8 chosen images. The participants of the photo-elicitation appear in the present work under pseudonyms.

**Sound Recordings**

The recorded sound should supplement and expand the visual layer the present data. The recording machine was a handy Recorder by the brand Zoom with four different types of recording possibilities. Various evenings were recorded, beginning shortly before the artist went on stage and stopped when the *fiesta flamenca* begun. Mainly the two parts of the performances became recorded sometimes only one. Betimes I took photos and recorded simultaneously. In total 10 audios with a duration of around 40 minutes were taken and two of them were analyzed.

"Attempts to consider music and noise as social data must assume a systematic relation between sounds and the social context that produces and receives them" (Bauer 2000: 264): The criteria for the selection were records of both *cantaores* (male and female) and of the second part because here the audience is already "familiar" with the event.

### 4.2 Analysis of Data

The data analysis became divided in different phases as well guided by elements of the grounded theory (cf. Strauss and Corbin 1996). The fieldwork orientated on an open research questions, which became defined through the participant observation and hanging around. Out of the fieldnotes evolved categories, like space, guest, body etc., divided in sub-categories that basis for all analysis processes.

Naming the categories makes us articulate the commonalities and patterns that tie words, phrases, and sentences together and ties them more clearly into the original conceptual framework, and keeps us thinking about connections and abstractions. (DeWalt 2011:188)

These "patterns" and "commonalities" build the framework for all the data allowing to cross-check results.

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28 The model is called H2next, it has following recordings options: 2ch,4ch, XY, MS.
4.2.1 Fieldnotes and Interviews

After six months in the field the fieldnotes became indexed during a field-break. As a consequence, codes mainly en-vivo-codes were generated. After having specified the key variables space, body and agent they became subdivided in sub-categories characterizing the main division. Both fieldnotes and interviews became coded the same way. The interview coding was 'free' to open up for the new perspective through the artists, which were not covered by my codes. Finally the material became analyzed, compared and incidents were put into relation.

4.2.2 Images

Terence Wright writes in “The Photography Handbook”: “photographs are taken in a particular context and there is a strong dependency on the knowledge of this context which determines how the final image is understood by the viewer” (Wright 2004:101). To deal with this dependency I did a content analysis of the photographs myself and at the second step a photo-elicitation with persons who visited the 23 Robadors. It is a very reflexive approach to step from analysis further to the interpretation and to cross check results constantly (cf. Pink 2007:40).

Content Analysis

"I started with the photographs themselves, hoping that they might collectively provide some context for each other” (Collier 2001:36): First step to the content analysis was finding my images and sort out those ones which had a good quality and are powerful in their presentation to stimulate the viewer (cf. Rose:87). Therefore it is important to organize your visual material, there are various forms to do so, I arranged them in sequence – date, first half/second half of the performance (cf. Collier and Collier 1992:179).

„When you arrange or mount of photographs together you are creating a visual model“ (ibid.:185). Hence, they became coded regarding the variables of the principle research: space, action and agent. Then the printed visual material became clustered in groups so

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29 The results of the Content Analysis together with the results of the following Photo-Elicitation were gained within a Seminar on Visual Methods during the process of my research.
the 8 photographs could be chosen for the content analysis and the written interview (cf. Rose 2012: 89).

The Content Analysis was done according to Banks: internal (content of the image) and external (social context, social relations regarding the image) narration (cf. Banks 2001:11) and complemented with Rose's four steps to Content Analysis: "Finding your Images; Devising categories for coding; Coding images; Analysing Results" (Rose 2012:87-101). It was important to me to uncover the visual power because "visual presentations have their own affects" and to have it present for the interview (ibid.:17).

On bases of the preliminary results of the content analysis I formulated the questions for the photo-elicitation and structured the online form, which will be explained more specifically in the next point.

**Photo-Elicitation**

The photo-elicitation is not thought to be a translation of the visual like content analysis regarding the internal narrative but "to explore the relationship between visual and other (including verbal) knowledge" (Pink 2007:11). Due to geographic distance to the interviewees I decided to do an online form so in this case it would not include verbal but written knowledge. The evaluation supports furthermore to crosscheck the content analysis results and vice versa. Additionally: 

"(...) things are talked about in these sorts of interviews that don't get discussed in talk-only interviews", hence, continuingly it complements the artist interviews and the audience interviews of the main research (Rose 2012:306).

The photo-elicitation was online, made via the Google forms, it included 17 questions on: gender, age, how often the person frequented the bar, on their knowledge of flamenco / flamenco artists and expert questions and questions on the photos. The question on the photos were structured as following:

1. The group: The group photos served to contextualize the interviewee 'within' the bar, with the starting question: *How would you describe to someone who has never been to the bar Robadors what is happening?*
The following pairs always had two standard questions in common, one: "which of the following sense would you put in relation with the photo?" and two: "why?" and another particular question to each photo.

2. The dancer: The second couple were photos with focus on the dancer because the dancer always evoked most of the affects in the audience during the performances, question here was: How would you describe the atmosphere in this photo?

3. The singer, guitarist and percussionist: Third duo were more focused on the singer and the guitarist and the percussionist, question was: what draws your attention and why?

4. The feet: Forth pair where the feet of the dancer with two different pairs of shoes, question here was: What are your associations?

Questioning the senses provided continuity and was bases for the comparison with respect to the images and the interviewees. The individual questions were to introduce a variety of questions that gave space to the observer to develop their thoughts and memory.

4.2.3 Sound

Analysing sound the internal structure of music correlating with “the external patterns of reception and production” shall be examined (Bauer 2000:267)

To evaluate the audio-recordings Martin W. Bauer's methods became consulted, presented in “Analysing Noise and Music as Social Data” (cf. ibid: 264):

1. "We need to record and transcribe the sound event for the purpose of analysis.

2. This transcription may depict sound and music in a similar form as speech, with an order of elements (paradigm, language) from which sequences are generated according to rules of production (syntagm, speech/grammar). Elements of sound are linked in more or less complex sequences. In music we describe these with, for example, the dimension of rhythm, melody and harmony; for noises we recognize cycles, loudness and character.
3. A particular structure of sounds is associated with a social group that produces it, is exposed to it, and listens to it."

After trying to analyze the internal structure of sound under the terms of Bauer of pitch_event, duration, loudness it turned out to be an unsuccessful venture. Hence, a compromise was made by drawing on elements of the classical occidental musical scores supplementing it with elements of a flamenco performance and following table was created:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shortcut</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Full Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>bailaora</td>
<td>In this case it mainly refers to the sounds produced by the dancer (most of the arm formations are soundless), especially the so called taconeos or zapateos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>cantaor/a</td>
<td>It stands for the singing of the cantaor/a but it does not include comments like asa, olé these are mentioned individually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>cajón</td>
<td>It stands for the percussion in general, be it the rhythm oft he cajón or the other percussion instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>toque</td>
<td>As guitar functions on a melodically level and rhythmical it mostly becomes specified if it is now a melodically part or more rhythmical.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>palmas</td>
<td>It stands only for palmas that were made by the artists but it was not specified which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>audience</td>
<td>It stands for the interaction from the audience (the listener) site, this becomes specified through a comment of olé or applause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>alternating</td>
<td>The letter that stands before: is the artist who starts and the letter after : the artist who answers on it or reactions on it, often precised through a comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>louder</td>
<td>This sign is a classical element in musical scores and stands for that the music becomes louder. Because of the quickness of the guitar and the up and down on the musical scala it only became mentioned if it was a significant difference in form of a jump from a really low to a really high note and vice versa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>quieter</td>
<td>This sign is a classical element in musical scores and stands for that the music becomes quieter (softer) Because of the quickness of the guitar and the up in down on the musical scala it only became mentioned if it was a significant difference in form of a jump from a really low to a really high note and vice versa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>mezo-piano</td>
<td>moderately soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>piano</td>
<td>soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>pianissimo</td>
<td>very soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppp</td>
<td>pianississimo</td>
<td>very very soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mezo-forte</td>
<td>moderately loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>forte</td>
<td>loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff</td>
<td>fortissimo</td>
<td>very loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fff</td>
<td>fortississimo</td>
<td>very very loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–</td>
<td>slow</td>
<td>A sign I introduced to demonstrate when the sound is hold for a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I learned to read and write the classical scores in my former formation in classical flute playing.
Leaned on the classical score of "quicker" notes this stand for when the artists becomes quicker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>quick</th>
<th>means melody goes up and down on the music scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>Stands for if the melody goes in very short succession up and down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>Sudden accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>up and down</td>
<td>Sforzando (literally &quot;reinforcing&quot;) indicates that several notes, or a short phrase, are to be emphasized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sf</td>
<td>sforzato</td>
<td>indicates a sforzando followed immediately by piano; in general, any two dynamic markings may be treated similarly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transcription includes as well comments, like who is leading, who is commenting (jaleos) or when does the audience interact. “Separating music from its visual performance by making an acoustic recording of it already constitutes a selection”, hence, this sound analysis shall intersect with the photo-essay below (Bauer 2000: 266).

Subsequently the research field will be introduced, further a reflection on entering and the research role in the field, followed by a photos-essay and a description of a typical night at the 23 Robadors.
5 The Research Field

In this section the research field will be addressed on four levels. To begin with an introduction of the research field, followed by a short reflection on the research preparation and research role in the field. Thirdly a photo-essay with images partly made during the research on site. In the final stage a typical night at the bar is going to be outlined.

5.1 23 Robadors

The 23 Robadors is a smaller bar with live music in the heart of Barcelona placed in the district of el Raval vis-à-vis to an innovative short-play theatre named Miniteatres, around the corner of the popular film library Filmoteca nearby the street Rambla del Raval, where you find the new modern Hotel Barceló and many restaurants, bars and food kiosks and not far from all these only a bit further down the Carrer d'en Robador street are sex-workers. The Raval is a famous migrant district of Barcelona - the largest migrant groups are from Pakistan, Philippines, Bangladesh and Morocco. Thus, the 23 Robadors is to be found in a very hybrid corner of the city where a heterogeneous group of audience comes together.

The bar was co-founded eleven years ago by Albert Pons, with-owner, bartender and flamenco guitar player who introduced flamenco performances in the programme and is a pioneer in setting up flamenco jam sessions. The 23 Robadors is named after its address 'carrer' d'en Robadors 23' and has a very particular bar concept.

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31 The data are taken of the population and household statistic of the city website. http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/dades/t pob/ine/a2014/nacio/t0105.htm
32 'Carrer' is the Catalan word for street.
23 Robadors defines itself as a bar with live music and shows. From Monday till Sunday they have daily a different programme - mainly music shows. For example on Mondays they have Hip Hop, on Thursday often Jazz and on Saturday and Sunday flamenco (programme of 2013/14). The statement of the bar as "bar with live music" is important regarding the concept of 'performance spaces' were normally flamenco is performed. Most known places for flamenco are concert halls or theatres, tablaos and peñas like the ones mentioned at the beginning. At big event locations known and reputed flamenco artists become invited to the venues and are advertised throughout the city. The tablaos are as well public places but less advertised (compared to big event locations), although this depends on the size of the tablao. Peñas are more private places and less known if there is no connection or gatekeeper to the community. 23 Robadors could be described as a hybrid of both concepts because it is public and advertised but at the same time 'private' in some way as numerous people go regularly to the 23 Robadors – many aficionados as well as flamenco artists – who know each other or are friends. The artists themselves described the audience partly as peña. Besides there are guests that usually go to different bars but came to explore the bar because they hared about it. For example I talked once to an older couple from Barcelona who usually go to a bar in the district of Gracia or to the los Tarantos but this time the came to inspect the 23 Robadors. At least half of the visitors that come to the bar are tourists, who are doing holidays in Barcelona and wanted to see something
'typical'. However, as well 'locals' but from outside Barcelona come to see flamenco performances there.

There are two popular guides announcing the 23 Robadors, one is the "butxaca" a local Catalan website and booklet broadcasting various activities in Barcelona (theatre, cinema, expositions, nightlife etc.) and the "Lonley Planet" as recommendation.

On Saturday the bars own group performs (Violeta Bario - Baile, Ramón - Cante, Albert Pons - Toque, Oscar Puig - Cajón), only seldom the constellation changes due to other important engagements of the artist. The group performs under the name Sarsalé, particularly outside the bar and including a bass.

They perform as well on Thursdays (state of 2014) at Casa Gracia, a beautiful hostel located in Eixample (district of Barcelona famous for its architecture) offering a wide artistic programme to their visitors. On Sundays the performing artists alter at the 23 Robadors. Subsequently to the performance there is normally a jam session on both days, this means everyone who wants to play guitar, cajón or even piano, sing or dance is free to use the 'stage'. There are many people that only come for the jam session and

33 URL of the cultural agenda butxaca: http://www.butxaca.com/
34 URL of the Lonley Planet online, Barcelona, Section Entertainment: http://www.lonelyplanet.com/spain/barcelona/entertainment-nightlife/other/23-robadors (07.11.15, 18:20h)
even bring their own instruments and many tourists who start to join throughout the course of the night.

5.2 Researching in the field

To become acquainted to flamenco, artists recommended me to listen to flamenco music as much as possible because they did it themselves. So I started listening frequently to flamenco recordings (among them Camarón de la Isla, Estrella Morente, Enrique Morente, Paco de Lucia, Tomatito, Carlos Piñana, Carmen Lineares, Niña de los Peines, Miguel Poveda). Through this I achieved not only a feeling for different flamenco styles - although still unable to define them - but as well I got to know different artists, which I could include in conversations about flamenco.

Gatekeeper and first contact at the bar was Albert Pons, who, what I did not know then, was not only bar tender, but the guitar player of the Saturday group and owner of the bar. Second gatekeeper was Yussef, bar tender on Saturdays and Sundays, who turned out to be a valuable conversation and interview partner due to his external and internal view. Knowing them it was easy to get to know the rest of the group (Ramón, Oscar, Violeta) who became complemented by Laura Santos (cante) and Pablo (percussion) who went there regularly and performed frequently within a show or during the jam session.

Since the bar is an open space I formed part of the audience during my research. Taking photos and recordings for research purposes was no disconcerting action because the audience was taking them frequently for personal use, so the artists were used to it. Therefore I did not disturb the field through the collection of data and the workability and the access was unproblematic. Through the 'intimacy' of the space and the convivial atmosphere, drinking, eating the context to get in contact with the audience was given. The artists normally stayed after their performance at the bar and often people of the audience went up to express their affection or have a conversation with them. Hence, to talk to artists was as well achievable not like in other places where the artists stay backstage. This familiar and in-between public/private surrounding helped me to exchange with many persons.
An obstacle in some occasions was my gender. Researching 'alone' as a young women, at a night bar on weekends, not being artists nor proper tourist (due to the Spanish name) and this at a rather obsolete place of the city became misunderstood sometimes. Since the beginning I was aware of these facts, which was the reason why I chose carefully my clothing – mainly trousers, no shirts with deep cutting or strong make-up. Only when I was with company or became picked up at the bar I did not care as much. Besides I felt safe by knowing the artists and barmen, my way to and from the bar and leaving not later than 2 o’clock in the morning – as well to keep the incidents and impression in mind. It was and is not easy to research as a female in a night bar on the one hand because of your gender-role and on the other hand because your role as a researcher in a context of leisure. You have to find a way to position yourself as a female researcher conducting serious investigation. Sometimes it helped me to make notes already before the performance started or afterwards and to take my professional looking sound recorder with me.
5.3 Photo-Essay

The Artists

Fig. 4: Artist
From left: Oscar, Ramón (Image Credit: 23 Robadors)

Fig. 5: Artist
Albert (Image Credit: 23 Robadors)

Fig. 6: Group
(Image Credit: 23 Robadors)
Fig. 7: Artist
Violeta and Laura in the background
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)

Fig. 8: Artist
Laura (Image Credit: Author)

Fig. 9: Group
(Image Credit: 23 Robadors)
The Group

Fig. 10: Group
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)

Fig. 11: Group
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)
Fig. 12: Group
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)

Fig. 13: Cante, Toque and Bailaora
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)
Fig. 14: Cante and Toque  
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)

Fig. 15: Percussion, Cante and Toque  
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)
Fig. 16: Bailaora
(Image Credit: José Orozco García)

Fig. 17: Bailaora
(Image Credit: Author)
5.4 A typical Saturday night

You enter the bar to find yourself in a very small and stretched space with a long bar table on your left where you can buy drinks and *tapas* from Yussef. Further inside there are some stairs on the right that lead up to the changing room of the artists on one side, the toilets on the opposite, underneath in the background is the 'stage', where the artists are doing their sound check before the performance begins. The stage is just a little platform for singer and musicians with a piano against the wall on the right, in front lays a wooden plate on the floor for the dancer. There are chairs with a few tables and on the left a long bench that goes up to the stage. All in all it is a very small and rustic room with little light.

Once inside, flamenco music welcomes you out of loudspeakers. A little board on the side says written with chalk the time, the entry and the name of the artists tonight: "Violeta Barrio - *Baile*, Ramon 'Tato' - *Cante*, Albert Pons - *Toque*, Oscar Puig - *Cajón". Only few a people are already there having some drinks, today plays the football team FC Barcelona, so the performance will start a bit later. After a while it becomes crowded and many people come in. I forgot to reserve a chair for me (with a jacket or scarf) so I have to sit down on the floor in front of the stage to see something. Then all of us have to wait until suddenly the music gets turned off and the artists enter asking the audience to make space for them to pass because it is too crowded – around 40 people, young, middle-aged, old, female and male, locals and foreigners. Next the artists sit down, looking at the stage: Violeta on the bench together with the audience, Oscar sits on his Cajón, Ramón in the middle and to his right Albert with his guitar. Ramón starts with an “ay” a so-called “chillada” and also Albert plays some strings of the guitar, then they begin. First *tema* is only *cantaor* and *toque*, betimes Ramón explains before what *palo* he will sing, eg. a buleria. After some introductions of *palos* people from the audience react on it, which means they are familiar with flamenco. After the third *tema* (already including percussion), Violeta stands up looking down, doing *palmas*, once on her wooden plate she does some strong steps (*pasos*) attracting all attention. When she dances the audience keeps quiet, their eyes are only following

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35 Tapas are diverse Spanish appetizers or snacks.
her movements, her hands up and down, right, left, right, slow, fast, slow, skirt up and down and then she starts a rhythm with the feet, and the singer sings to it. In the middle there is this pause, she begins again a rhythm with her feet and looks at Albert and stops, it is obviously his turn, he starts and stops as well looking at her and she answers to him with her feet. This interplay continues for a short while, till she goes over to Oscar and finally to Ramón. The audience follows the conversation understanding it or not but with high attention. Sitting on the floor you can even feel the vibration. When Violeta starts to dance faster, people even stand up, get on tip toe to see her quick moving feet beating rhythms into the ground. Once she stops relieved, the audience shows the strongest reaction, loud clapping and “bravo” shouting. Then again some lines of the cantao and the first part is over. The artists leave sweaty the stage to get fresh air, to smoke or to drink some water and wine. The audience starts to talk to their friends or the people they sit next to (as well I), like “have you seen her feet”, “what a voice”, “grande”, “amazing these fingers of the guitar player” as well as private conversations. People either stay seated, go as well outside to have fresh air or a cigarette (it gets very hot in there) or to the bar to have some more drinks, the high concentration was also exhausting for them and some imitate the artists. Yussef tells me later that they audience often imitates the dance movements or cante when they come during the break. Again flamenco music starts out of the loudspeakers and at the bar you meet the guitar player Albert serving drinks.

After the break the same procedure repeats, the artists have to make their way through the audience. Again the cantao begins, now that Ramón is warmed up the singing seems even stronger than at the beginning, also the audience is more familiar with it. When Violeta sits on the bench she does palmas and betimes shouts out an ole/olé, asa to her colleagues as well as the other artists do during the performance showing their respect or to motivate. The audience interacts depending on how familiar they are with flamencoo. Some try to imitate the palmas others know how to practise it and others do it to show off or to provoke. They participate as well in the jaleos mixed between individual and collective reaction, for example after one tema some individuals shouted olé or even using the artists name like "olé Albert" many people join the jaleos particularly after the dance.
At the end Ramón presents the artists and then they perform again and invite to the so called fiesta and call out Laura (cantaora) to come out of the audience on stage to sing impressing everyone with her strong voice while Ramón 'pretends' dancing flamenco to it (I have to say it looks very good). It becomes very informal and after this the artists leave again sweating the stage and open the space for the jam session. In the jam session everyone is allowed to use the space and instruments. I saw already before that some musicians brought their own instruments to jam. Now the real fiesta starts people play guitar, switch to cajón and sing. Late at night the atmosphere is exuberant and the people seem to be in a very good mood, be it the performance or the combination of the performance and the alcohol.
6 The Art of Interacting and Communicating

The research subject became centred on communication and interaction between audience and artist approaching it through three variables: Space, Action and Agents. The categories became divided into subgroups that are revealed within in them characterizing the variables. The order of the categories is purpose, the idea is to start with "space" because it frames the performance and locates it, then continuing with actions during the performance, the actual "activity" and to end with the agents, the protagonists of the event. However, they are linked and influencing each other.

6.1 Space

The chapter is divided into following subgroups: physical space, embodied-space and social space according to important incidents that appeared throughout the research as important aspects in forming the experience into a social event.

6.1.1 Physical Space

Looking at the physical space we know that the bar is small and stretched in terms of dimensions. The audience can sit on benches, chairs and stand to watch and listen. The people in the first row usually sit on the floor and right 'to the feet' of the dancer. I once sat there and you could feel the vibration of the wooden plate she danced on and the wind when she turned around. This experience became as well described by visitors in the photo-elicitation and was commented on site directly. You could even see how the people sitting in the front retreated backwards because they became nervous not to get hit by the dancing-feet. The audience on the backside was sitting on chairs standing up frequently to see better the feet of the dancer. The average visitor number was between 30-50 persons. If you arrived early at the bar you could see to the stage with people sitting and waiting. Later the bar became crowded and once inside you could only see heads and backs and people getting drinks but no stage anymore. When it was crowded - which was mostly the case - visitors even sat on the staircase and tried to peek through
the openings. If you were lucky and tall, you could see the hands of the bailaor/a when they were up. From a certain angle close to the stairs you were able to observe her shadow while she was dancing.

The ceiling is low so it narrows the room and there are no windows only the entrance glass door. Hence, the architecture creates a very closed and intimate space. This has an impact regarding the seasons in winter it is cosy warm and in summer the place becomes a 'sauna'. Remarkably once one part of the performance has finished the air becomes sticky and dense because the room is heated up through the amount of persons and the performance. The lightning is very poor so the dimmed space appears smaller and narrower. Before the performance and during the break you hear from the loudspeakers music – on weekends usually flamenco music.

Looking at the audience site how they experience space, I want to quote an illustrative situation. Before Christmas on a Saturday Show:

> A man was sitting next to José who was taking pictures and me who was recording. During the break he showed us the photos he shot on his small digital camera and told us how unbelievable close we are to the artists "you even see how the sweat drops of her nose" and outlines the sweat drop captured on his photo. (Fieldnotes 2013)

The audience who was in the front could not only see the sweat but also the artist's expression in their eyes, giving little smiles to their colleagues, giving critical or angry looks to them and they and the floor vibrating of the feet hitting the ground and the proximity to the stage.

Nela, who visited for the first time a flamenco performance, wrote in her photo-description:

> The strongest experience from the bar for me was the connection and vibe between the guitar player and the singer as well as the dancer of course. (...) The situation directly in the bar is also very impressive because the space is quite small and so you can fell the energy of the people very strongly. (Nela 2015)

Enrique who has been two to five times at the bar wrote:

> Pero voy a priorizar el oído ya que creo que la potencia vocal de la cantante en ese momento debe ser muy fuerte e inundaría la sala. (Enrique 2015)

He says that the sound of the singer must be so strong that it "floods" the room. Because of the size of the bar the resonance of the music is strong on the one side but as well limited on the other.
During the performance the visitors of the bar sit closely to the artists (musicians and dancer/s), which in my opinion creates an intimate atmosphere for the interaction between artists and audience. (Nela 2015)

This shows how the physical space and the perception of it, influences their experience of the performance.

The artists have a perception of the physical space that surrounds them as well. Some correspond to the audiences' and some are different because they are differently positioned. The performers look towards the door and on the audience that encloses them. To get to the stage they often had to squeeze and ask there way through the visitors. Hence, the space its characteristics are present and noticeable for both sides.

Violeta for example said in the interview:

(...) también lo dan las condiciones del local. Es un local muy acogedor y tiene mucho calor ese sitio (...) es acogedor incluso el que está en la escalera todo, yo nunca he visto en un local un pavo en la escalera así (imitates it) todo un bolo ¿sabes? (Violeta and Oscar 2014)

She is aware about how the space and its architecture impact the experience. Violeta feels welcomed at the bar that embraces everyone, even the persons sitting on the staircase. Perceiving this attitude of the audience and how they arrange 'in space' to be part of the performance encourages her.

Laura points out in her interview the negative side of being so close to the audience. She said that on the one side it is nice to be close but on the other side there is no boundary in-between. Sometimes the audience does not know how to handle closeness and distance (cf. Laura and Ramón 2014). Generally, the visitors in the 23 Robadors show respect towards the artists. They listen to them and retreat when they invaded the artist's space. Hence, the proximity of the space provokes a personal closeness that is perceived as positive nearness on the one side but can turn into negative enclosing on the other side.

6.1.2 Embodied - Space

Although I found it the most difficult subgroup because it is challenging to formulate this point into words it seemed important to me to include it in the analysis. While analysing my data I discovered that in certain situations the body was not about
movement or action but about spatial expansion, like another physical restricted space additionally to the bar.

The space for the artist's body is relatively restricted with exception for the dancer. When the bailaora comes to the front she takes the whole space for her and the body occupying room on a vertical and horizontal level. However, she is also limited to her wooden plate (maybe 2mx2m) on the floor that marks her space. Observing the dancer, she fully takes up 'her room' and it arises the sensation even more than that. To describe this better I want to draw on the description of a couple (man and wife, in their mid 30s) from France, who spent a weekend in Barcelona and came to visit the 23 Robadors because they read about it in a local magazine (probably the Butxaca). Both said what stroke them was the "difficulty to dance" (cf. Fieldnotes 2014). For them, although the dancer managed to dance along, Violeta seemed in a continuous fight or challenge to embody what the cantaor is singing, how her feelings correspond to it and to express it in her baile.

They did not refer to a lack of technique but the struggle with physical limitation of expression, which they perceived in the dancer and what seemed uncontrolled-controlled, autonomous-navigated fast movements of the feet. These are the climax moments of the performance where everything becomes faster and more powerful, to a point where you see the body struggling with limits and overcoming them.
In general cantaor, toque and percussion are all positioned frontal towards the audience, they 'open' the body towards the audience (see image 11). Only the bailaora either sits on the bench, vertical to the artists, or she is in the front switching from front, left, right and back towards the audiences - for example when she is dancing towards her colleagues (this will be explained in the chapter Body and Sound).

It is striking that not only the dancer seems to search for 'room' in her body to give their expressions space, as well it is observable with the other artists. For example it happens that Ramón, when he is singing and reaches a peak moment (Track 1 2014: 27.47 min.) he holds on his shirt or chaleco (what often wears) like a support. Laura on the contrary has moments where she starts stamping with her feet (Track 2 2014: 6/8/36 min.). Both use their hands frequently to underline their cante separately from doing palmas. Looking at the image 4 and 7 of the photo-essay we can see Ramón doing palmas while singing and Laura supporting her hands on her thighs.

The singer looked to the front, often closing her eyes. She moved her hands a lot to underline her singing. Than in between some palmas, once in a while a movement to the front and even sometimes she started to 'stamp' with her feet (...) she tensions her body and relaxes, claps, and stamps in special moments, full of energy. It seemed like she needs another channel of expression because her voice and hands where not enough. (Fieldnotes 2013)

This stamping of feet underlines the emotional singing and creates the impressions that her cante is not giving enough space to express, so she expresses in her body and even then it creates the impressions that there is limitation she is fighting against.

The percussionist and the guitar player move their body much while performing. For example both of them, as they do not have their hands free as the cantaores, lift themselves a bit from their seat or cajón in peak-moments. They move up, stretching into the air making space on a vertical level. Here happens the same as before, the instruments are not enough to express, it needs another medium such as the body. On the other hand the audience has no space to move without touching the neighbour. As a consequence the small space, the intensity of performance increases the impact on the visitors, who relief their bodies when the artists relax.

36 Leaving aside the angle, where visitors sit on the bench and look vertical on the artists.
6.1.3 Social Space

23 Robadors is as well a social space, where both artists and visitors meet, get in contact, come to drink, to perform, to watch, to listen and to have fun. Yussef said in the interview that he could observe that visitors come in small groups or alone to the bar but after the performance they talk with other people and there form new 'groups' (cf. Yussef 2014). If he compares it with a Jazz performance at the 23 Robadors - where he works sometimes - the audience there appears to him more 'closed'. They come in groups and leave in the same group, there seems like there is not so much intermingling, as it is the case with a flamenco performance.

Albert mentioned in the interview that for him it is important that the artists stay and talk to the audience, he even would like more artists from other genres to come and to have a broader mix. He told me that earlier many of different musicians came because there did not exist so much cante in Barcelona but now there is more and thus, less fusion according to him (cf. Albert 2014). The conception of the performance at the 23 Robadors has already a social format. Additionally, there is no much space to be a lonesome watcher, normally the audience is so close to each other that you can listen your neighbour’s conversation and even feel his or her body tensioning during the performance. Like described previously, this provokes that you experience together with the people standing next to you – conscious or unconsciously. You easily get into a conversation or discussion about flamenco in general or about the current performance. Visitors unfamiliar with flamenco asked me many questions once I told them that I was presently conducting my research. If they knew more about flamenco they told me where else I should go or started to share their expert knowledge with me. My first day in the field I got into a conversation with a young man sitting next to me who plays flamenco guitar. He told me that he exclusively focuses on toque because he is studying it. Furthermore he explained me a lot about how the guitar player has the hardest work in the flamenco 'triangle' (now including cajón) because toque has to work out the tonality simultaneously to when the cantaor is singing or the bailaora dancing. These conversations helped me much to gain expert knowledge in the field. The artists were happy to explain about it – if I did not ask too academic questions.
The social setting was not only supported by the fact that it is a small place and the mutual experiencing of the performance but because it is a night bar. You can go there for drinks, be it alcoholic (mainly red wine and beer) or non-alcoholic. It is at the same time a place to meet up for drinks and tapas.

The artists took their beer or red wine glasses even to the stage and had a sip sometime in while during the performance. Violeta confirmed me that they like drinking, fiesta and love flamenco all together. A feeling that becomes as well transmitted to the audience. Due to my role as a researcher I drunk little and stayed only for the beginning of the fiesta. Motive for doing so was to keep distance to maintain my image as a serious researcher and to make clear that I was there for research-work and not for leisure and seeking for company. Always when I left the mood was cheerful because the fiesta flamenca had started and for sure the alcohol had its influence but I never experienced that anything went out of control.

On basis of the physical proximity to the artists the audience felt very close to them on a personal level. To call the artists by their name during a performance, which is very typical in flamenco, like "olé Violeta" or "olé Ramón", reinforces the feeling of being close to each other. An Italian guest who went frequently to the bar and had brought his working colleague one time, told me how much he likes Ramón and how he is fascinated by him as if he would know him personally for long time. Talking about it in the interview with Violeta and Oscar short time afterwards, they confirmed to me that there are a number of visitors who come frequently and talk to them, as they would know each other since a long time. From the audience's point of view it is an explainable attitude because they see the artists frequently, experience with them their 'personal interpretation' during a performance and know their names but not vice versa. Violeta said, that at the same time it is an uncomfortable situation because they address her using her name. In turn she does not know the name and sometimes not even the face because there are of course many people and every weekend many new faces, week after week. Nevertheless, it is beautiful for her to see that her performance touches the visitors so much that they want to express it to her personally. Another time a woman also came up to Laura and told her that her singing was so touching that it made her cry.
I asked Laura if it happened to her before and she said that sometimes she saw individuals in the audience crying.

Yet, the bar is a place where also artists meet or come to see their colleagues. Laura for example had once in spring a performance on a Sunday with her guitar player, the bailaora Rebecca, a flute player and woman who did only palmas, so called Palma. To this event Oscar, Violeta, Pablo and other artists came to participate as audience. On Saturday nights other artists attend the performance and the jam session. Oscar and Violeta told me in their interview that many artists from other bars come after their own performance to the 23 Robadors because their bar closes. It formed a meeting point for the 'after hour' where they join the peña or the jam session.

6.2 Actions

This chapter is divided in three parts: 'Exclamations and Palmas', 'Looking and Listening' and 'Body and Sound'. Together they constitute the central actions within a flamenco performance. Though the sub-title pairs are dialectical actions they relate to each other.

6.2.1 Exclamations and Palmas

The term 'exclamations' subsumes the so-called jaleos typical verbal expressions voicing through shouts or comments during a flamenco performance. Jaleos can be compliments like "guapa", "guapo" and words like "asa", "agua" (water), "aire" (air) or the names of the artists. It can include other forms of exclamations, which are expressed verbally by both the audience and the artists. Palmas are a central element of flamenco and performing them is a high art of percussion. The cantaor/a and the bailaor/a37 practise palmas during their 'break' or in moments of singing and dancing. To perform palmas same as jaleos, which include the known olè, has different motivation and different purposes.

37 In the course of this work it will be often referred to bailaora, the female form of dancer because I only saw female dancers performing at the 23 Robadors except once.
The 23 Robadors provides a space for this sort of exclamations. What could be observed throughout my fieldwork was, that the personal character shaped the usage of jaleos respective artists and audience. Regarding the artists for example, if we compare track 1 with 2 it is noticeable that Laura expresses much more jaleos than for example Ramón. The frequency of jaleos has an influence on the experience of the performance but it makes no difference in terms of quality or impact. The more jaleos are expressed the more energetic the performance becomes but with less it becomes more solemn. The percussionist and bailores do express jaleos as well. In comparison, toque expresses the less it may be because they are the ones who have "work hardest", or how interviewees said "el pringado".

The jaleos are not always used throughout a performance but in certain moments. In general the artists use the jaleos to motivate and to 'heat up' the atmosphere in pitch or climax moments (cf. Track 2 2014:20 min.), but also to express their respect to the their colleague's art of performing, for example if a copla or paso touched them personally. Another exclamation is the "ay" before the cantor/a begins with the cante – as well known as "grito" (scream). In the interview Ramón explained me that it is a form to get the tone. A flamenco guitar student told me, that it originally stands metaphorically for the "cry" of a newborn child.

The audience uses jaleos for the same purposes but lesser than the artists and more exclamations such as "olé", "guapa" and the name of the artists. Only audience familiar with flamenco expressed "eso es" (thats it), "asa" to either encourage or to express that the artists just performed 'to the point' ("¡eso es!"). This behaviour and confidence to practise exclamations during the performance turned out to be an indicator for me who is familiar with flamenco and who is not. The 'novices' often imitated other visitors but did not show the same confidence, which impressed everyone unfamiliar with flamenco because it was an action from the audience towards the artists. Most of the times when the bailora was dancing individuals from the audience shouted to her "olé Violeta", "guapa" (as well more people at once) because she provoked the strongest reaction in the audience. The other artists received as well compliments and olés but lesser – more if aficionados or other artists were present. The audience as group exclaimed collectively "olés", "bravos" after a climax was reached: "the bailaora had such a

38 Translation to English would be "the mug", in this context it refers to that this person has to work hardest.
tension in her body that when she relaxed the audience relaxed with her and shouted to her in relief" (Fieldnotes 2013). Various visitors confirmed this experience to me.

The term *olé* is central to the flamenco vocabulary and has a very particular recognition value within a performance, which I want to elaborate (it becomes expressed as well in bullfights). People of the audience asked me sometimes when one should say *olé*. At the beginning of my research I asked myself this question. There are theories that *olé* derives from "allah" because of the influence of the Arabes. Regarding the usage that it is very spread in different language to address 'a god' in terms of surprise or impression like "oh god" (English), "oh gott" (German), "mon dieu" (French), "allah" (Arabe) it sounds reasonable that it could have its roots there. Considering the actual use at the context of the 23 Robadors we have to differ if it is the audience or the artists who expresses it.

The artists themselves express it after a *tema* or when something touched or impressed them, they *olé* their colleagues to articulate how much they liked it or how much they were impressed by his or her artistic performance.

(...) nos sale de lo adentro, porque lo sentimos en este momento (...) por ejemplo, yo bailaora, el que está tocando está cantando pues me ha gustado mucho como lo ha hecho, sabes ha estado flamenco, ha estado a tiempo, ha estado olé. (Rebecca 2014)

Rebecca, *bailaora* explained here to me that *olé* as well as *asa* becomes expressed or better escapes from "inside" when you like what the other artists where doing, if it was flamenco (artistic creation), if it was on time (the challenge of the beat), if it was "*olé*".

Further she told me that she says it at the end of her dancing because:

(...) sino en verdad me lo digo porque igual he acabado de hacer un paso que me hace sentir tan bien, con todos mis compañeros y como ha salido, que digo *olé*, sabes, que como ha salido, que bien la unión, y eso es. (Rebecca 2014)

She sometimes ends her *paso* with an *olé* because she felt the union with her artists, because it turned out good, thus, it is not only for her but the whole interplay.

"During the first half of the performance a man stood behind me, who commented the dance with many oles" I wrote in my fieldnotes, later I got to know him David, aficionado and who flamenco dancer (learning it) whom I interviewed. He is very into the *baile* and as I got told in the interview an exaggerated person, therefore he likes to express his affection directly and is not shy to do so. Another time I set next to him and Ramón was singing something like the red hair of my dancer and he commented but
this time a bit quieter this is not true and so on but not in a annoying way. This demonstrates the personal character of using it.

Laura and Ramón explained to me that you express olé if you like something, be it the lyric or only a word and to motivate your colleagues and to spur them on. Regarding the wording there is no special vocabulary, typical or more common are "asa" agua" and "aire" but it can be whatever comes up to the mind. What all artists agreed on in some way or the other, that it comes from the heart "te sale de ahí, del corazón" (Laura and Ramón 2014).

Nevertheless, flamenco novices adapted quickly to this form of expression and shouted olé and applauded joining in everyone though more timid. I observed myself that at the beginning of my fieldwork I did not dare to say olé because I was afraid it would not be in the right time. After a while in the field I discovered that I did it automatically as well when no one was saying it but still without the confidence to shout it right into the room. However, I could not tell when it came intuitively.

What goes together with the exclamations are palmas. To perform Palmas is a very high art of percussion. There is even a name for those artists who only do palmas throughout a performance: palmeros flamencos. Normally the cantaor and bailaor do palmas, the dancer mainly when s/he sits to give the beat or mark the contra-beat. In image 10 and 11 we see Laura doing palmas and in 10 Violeta as well while dancing. In image15 you can see as well Laura doing palmas while singing.

If they are not performed in right way they can be disturbing. Pablo told me in the interview (I saw him often doing palmas during Saturday performances) that he only does it, if the artists asked for it. Laura and Violeta explained to me it could become disturbing as well, if people from the audience do it especially if they do not know how to do them. Nevertheless, often individuals from the audience did palmas. Some of them knew how to do it you could see it on how they hold their hands to clap (see image 16 and 17 below) others tried to imitate the artists or visitors who practised it. Again others do it because they get excited. To visualize it I want to describe three Saturday situations (Fieldnotes 2013):

I observed a man, who spoke English with American accent, sitting next to me, who did palmas while closing his eyes with his head slightly down towards hands and a smile on his face, he seemed happy. He enjoyed the music and after a while he clapped the beat softly on his knee.
A woman in a wheel chair was clapping emotionally with her hands, closed her eyes and
did flamenco movements with her hands at the end she told the guitar player “you make me
crazy”, it was meant as a compliment.

I met a girl from Shanghai who came to the Robadors because the place was mentioned in
the Lonely Planet. In the break she told that the performance is very emotional and taking
along. At the end of the second half she slightly wiped and taped with her hand on her
knees looking concentrated but joyful on the artists.

In these three cases imitating *palmas* (or rather clapping) was an expression of an
emotional state and their form of participating not an artistic creation.

**Fig. 19: Palmas**
Picture detail, bailaora and palmera flamenca in the background doing palmas.

**Fig. 20: Palmas**
Picture detail, Pablo and Violeta doing palmas.

Another time as well on a Saturday a man came to the 23 Robadors, of whom I knew
from the interviews and conversations that he is well known there and comes every
once in a while to the to the bar, also to perform during the jam session. He sat right
next to the artists and appeared to be tipsy. Once Violeta came out for dancing he did
sonoric *palmas* obviously pushing her looking at her feet. What I could tell from the
artists reaction and facial expression they did not appreciate this form of motivation.
Laura who was singing this evening commented to please not disturb the artists. In the
interviews with the artists I referred to the situation and got told that sometimes it
happens that 'gitano artists' like him come to mark 'their territory' by showing off their
artistic skills by provoking the other artists trying to destruct them.

Again a Saturday two young girls were sitting in the front close to the stage. They
started with the other artists to do *palmas* and continued while Violeta was dancing and
the others have stopped. At some point as they continued their performance Violeta told
them while dancing to stop because it disturbs her. Violeta said to me afterwards that it totally distracts her if people continuo marking the rhythm with *palmas* but don not know when to stop, often because they are not experienced enough to tell. The two of them continued as well with sonorc *palmas*, which are loud, there are *palmas sordas* (numb *palmas*) that give room to other sounds.

To know to perform *palmas* requires high percussion skills beyond hand clapping. However, the examples show that the audience feels invited to imitate through either the artists or aficionados who do know how to them because they want to form part and participate. The given examples show how the individuals felt connected through it, which is a compliment to the artists and the art. The last examples show how it can become used in a 'negative' way and that *palmas* are not only a skill but simultaneously a tool to demonstrate power or gained knowledge.

### 6.2.2 Looking and Listening

Both *looking* and *listening* are crucial elements because of various reasons. They are central in flamenco for artists in terms of interacting and communicating in the ensemble and serve as codes. At the same time they are the main sources of reception regarding the audience. Furthermore *looking* and *listening* are two essential tools for me as researcher and particularly in the field of performing arts.

*Looking* and *listening* has a special role regarding a flamenco performance among others due to the existent hierarchy in the performance. It influences the act of *looking* and *listening* and requires them. Last on the hierarchical level is the percussionist, followed by *toque*, *cantaor/a* and then the bailor/a (only thing higher than the *bailaora* is the 'art of flamenco'). In Spanish they call it: the one that orders, "*el que manda*". Going the hierarchy line backwards this means, if there is no bailor/a on stage, the *cantaor/a* 'manda', if the *cantor/a* is not singing the guitar player 'manda 'and then last but not least the percussionist, which also include the *bailaor/a* if she is sitting and doing *palmas* and the palmeros flamencos.

39 "*mandar*" means in English to order in terms of that the artist defines rhythm, tempo, melody, breaks etc. and the others have to follow and react.
A characteristic of flamenco in comparison to other music or dance types is, that the musicians are present and form a visible part of the performance and they play towards the dancer. The dancer does not dance to the music but the reverted. This does not mean that this cannot change within a performance. The performance and interplay is set through the palos. They build the framework for all the artists and they have to take a subordinated role to it. However, the palo gives liberty to improvise and step out the 'frame'.

Lo que diferencia luego es expresarlo todo desde el alma, el flamenco, y lo más importante del flamenco es el compás absolutamente. Como supuesto tienes que bailar, lo tienes que cantar, lo tienes que tocar con el alma pero tienes que ponerlo al servicio del compás. (Caparrós 2013, Centre Civic Besòs)

Carmen Caparrós explained here in the context of her book presentation "Bailar Flamenco. Conocer una forma de sentir" (Caparrós 2013) the importance of the palo. During the presentation a man asked if is not the expression that has a former importance more than the palo, her answer was the quote above – of course the expression has a major importance but the artist have to follow the palo and what defines preliminary the palo is the beat. Again this is an essential aspect that impacts on looking and listening. Nevertheless the artists react on each other and communicate by listening to and looking at each other. To listen is an important rule otherwise you don't know what the other artists is saying or telling you and in which tonality.

For example the dancer can communicate through a so called "llamada" (a call) of the feet, which means for the other artists to follow because there will be a change of rhythm or it can mean that the singer shall sing another verse or the guitar player shall play a falseta, a melodic solo (cf. Caparrós 2013). This interplay can also happen between the other artists. The dancer ideally listens to what the canator sings so she can interplay with the lyrics as Violeta told me in the interview. For the percussionist, canator/a and toque it is important to look at the bailaora when she is on stage and 'manda'. The focus on the bailaora can be seen as well in the images 10 and 11 of the photo-essay and below (see figure 21-24). There exist as well "baile al cante" (dacing to the singer) which is a case where the dancer dances frontal towards the singer. Violeta did this interplay with every artist individually; here they communicate 'directly' to each other. The focus always lays on the one who 'mandas' while alternating between them during the performance.
The audience is aware of the looks and follows them and their interaction. Tina, visited the 23 Robadors two to five times and has been to flamenco performances before. She answered regarding the question what draws her attention:

La vista por la fijación que tienen los acompañantes del grupo hacia la cantaora y la chica acompañando con las palmas. El oído, por la concentración que todos parecen tener, aún con 'la emisión de sonidos' de la cantaora. (Tina 2015).

Her association was "sight" because of the focus of the artists on the singer and "hearing" due to the concentration they seem to have on the images. This shows how the looking of the artists, affects the looking from the audience, as well as the listening to each other among the artists has an impact.

The artists emphasized in the interviews the importance of listening to flamenco. It is not a performance you go and chat you should focus and respect their art (cf. Violeta and Oscar 2014; Laura and Ramón 2014). Franzi from Germany, who was in Barcelona
for an internship, has been before to a flamenco show with dinner and came to the 23 Robadors because of verbal propaganda. She said to me in the interview "I hear it and then I know how it looks like because I have already seen it" (Franzi 2014, Barcelona). When I talked to her we were standing at the stairs because the bar was too crowded already.

Nela who visited for the first time a flamenco performance, associated "hearing" with the images 14 and 15; "Because looking at the pictures I kind of hear the sound of singing in my ears" (Nela 2015). It happens as well to me looking at the images that I hear Laura and Ramón singing. Additionally, I can assume by the looks what will happen next. Thus, in a flamenco performance looking and listening are important codes to perform and at the same time important tools of reception both for artists and audience who influence each other as well regarding the artists and the audience. You do not only see dance and listen to music but reversed: you listen to dance and you see music.

6.2.3 Body and Sound

“Music expresses that which cannot be said and on which it is impossible to be silent.”
~ Victor Hugo

The noun "Body" and "sound" may be confusing as a subcategory within action but it needs to be understood as actions through body and sound. To be highlighted next to looking and listening seemed important due to the role of body and sound within a flamenco performance and their relation to each other. The body tells many things during a flamenco performance that is why looking at it, is so important. The body has an essential function regarding the artists especially the bailaora in terms of interplay and as 'surface' of expression concerning the audience. On the opposite site as well the body of the audience is a reflection of the artists actions. Succeeding, the body of the artists will be looked at illuminating different parts.

Once Oscar told me explaining me the different beats of palos, to look at the feet to know which palo they perform because they mark the beat. Observing the feet several times, I found out that although the torso was moving strongly the feet of the percussionist, cantaor and toque tapped calmly the beat in the ground.
There are moments in the performance where each artist independently from each other closes their eyes, these can be soft as well as loud moments. Particularly these moments are striking if it is the singer. Looking at the images 14, 15 and 25-27 below, the singer has a strong facial expression and as well their entire body expresses what they are singing.

During the performance their bodies are alternating between exertion and relaxation. The audience observes it following the descriptions of the photo-elicitation like the face of the cantaora (images 14 and 15) was striking because it expresses and reflects strength showing her passion:

> La cara de la cantante. Destaca por la fuerza que emite y se refleja el esfuerzo y la pasión que siente por lo que hace. (Fernando 2015)
> How much passion is put on the vocals too, with lots of facial expressions of every emotion that is sang about. (Mia 2015)

The stamping with feet or holding on the chaleco like mentioned before within the chapter of embodied-space, as well as the 'lifting up' of the seat of the percussionist and the guitar player underline the body actions. It shows the interchange of body as surface, transmitter and producer at the same time. Another example of the role of the body are palmas in general and towards the bailaora. Apart from marking the beat or off beat they emphasize climaxes while moving the clapping hands for- or upward. Illustrating
is the case of the bailaora; here the cantaores are moving or only stretching their arms while doing palmas towards her, moments of encouragement and spurring on.

The bailaora has an exceptional role within body because she is the one like no other who makes flamenco performances to a visual art. Once the bailaora is out her body is in the focus of everyone, of her colleagues and the audience. She does embody sound and produces it on two levels. First she is the one who 'sets the tone' ('manda'), and second she makes sound herself with feet and hands. The body can be moving, fearful, strong, tempting or sensual towards the audience. Therefore, she has the vertical and horizontal line to express. Further, the body opens or closes, with the head to the front or to the side. There is always a strong connection to the floor. The expression of the body becomes supported by the other artists claims Violeta "la expression corporal, el grupo lo apoya" (Violeta and Oscar, 2014). Yussef once said "todo lo que dice el cante lo veo en el cuerpo del bailaor o bailaora (...) el cante transmite con las letras y con emociones y el cuerpo del baile presenta como un algo que se puede ver": everything that is sung is reflected in the body of the bailaora, the singer is transmitting with lyrics and the dancer is what you can see (Yussef 2014).

Fig. 28: Body and Sound
This sequence shows Violeta's baile with the audience in the background. The images have been taken from the bench very close to the artists.

Fig. 29: Body and Sound
This sequence shows Rebecca's baile with the artists in the background. The images have been taken
from the audience perspective.

A lady from the audience said this as well about the bailaora "all the feelings she is expressing [the cantora] is projected in her [bailaora] dancing" (Fieldnotes 2014). Hence, everything from the 'inside' to the interplay with the other artists is projected and transmitted with the body. The body expression of the audience influences as well the bailaora, if they show joy and interest or the opposite it reflects on the bailaora and her dancing (cf. Rebecca 2014).

Sometimes the dance is more sensual or wild, as Rebecca describes it. The dancer dances sometimes with the back towards the audience, and than at a climax the dancer opens up towards the audience, betimes raising arms like a 'V' in the air while working hard with the feet. General the head is often positioned slightly sideward looking down. There are moments where they snap and clap on breast and thigh with the hands during the dance. The 'centre of gravity' is between feet and ground juxtaposed to arms and air. José, part of the peña and participant of the jam session said about what most caught his attention after a performance: "el momento cuando salió la bailaora, cuando se ha levantado y caminado despacio hace el talbáo, esa fuerza, el temple" (José 2014). What he describes is the moment when the bailaora steps on the stage for the first time – the strength, the concentration, the bodily presence walking on stage (although this means few steps) fascinated him.

"Because during the performance the dancer's feet communicate with the ground mostly in an intensive way. The sound of her dancing shoes harmonises with the music" (Maria 2014)

Now when we look at the internal narrative of sound, following can be 'observed': "(Intro: Bulería), "T: Ramón Olé, dann P sordas dann Ca P sonoras , sf >") (Track 1 2013:18 min.): After introducing the palo at the beginning (something Ramón did frequently), we can see that toque starts and Ramón says to Albert's playing "olé", paying a compliment to him. Than Ramón starts doing deaf palmas, the cajón joys in, a sudden accentuation follows before it becomes quieter. In the next example: "ppp —
3:T:CA sf (B manda), pp , sf , mf": (ibid.: 0:33 min.) we see/hear an interplay of toque, bailaora and cajón. It starts very quiet and than the interplay begins while the bailaora is the one who 'mandas', it becomes quieter again, than quicker, sudden
accents until it continuous in mezo-forte. In the following a sound-development is shown before the audience shouts olé: "B sf pp, TCAP, sf mp, sf mp, sf mp, B TCAP mf, mf</tt>AUDIENCE Olé" (ibid.: 37:00 min.). All artists play together, there are many sudden accents and towards the end all become quicker and louder, building up a climax when finally the audience shouts olé while applauding. Another pattern of a sound-development before there is a collective interaction from the audience side: "B sfpp, TCAP, mf, B sf (manda), mf<fff, C,C,C mf</tt>AUDIENCE Olé" (ibid.: 46:00 min.). The bailaora leads, from a quieter start the sound becomes louder, quicker the cantaor joins in, towards the end there are sudden accents and than again applauding and olé from the audience.

Following we see/hear how the singer introduces a theme and the bailaora introduces herself through zapateo: "C/\mp/\x ~ Z mf, C/~Z, C<>, C/~Z C>" (ibid.: 29:00 min.). It starts with mezzo-piano and develops to mezzo-forte, followed by an interplay of loud and soft.

The performance often starts with cante accompanied by the guitar sometimes as well percussion. Here an example of a sequence of the beginning of the performance with Laura. Albert plays the melodic part to her lyrics and you can hear/read as she says to him "eso es": "T melody, Laura (eso es), sf Ca, C/sf fff, fp, C w ~ <>, C>" (Track 2 2013: 04:00 min.). Second tema afterwards: "TCa sf, PUBLIKUM OLÉ; MOLT BE, T rhythical, P starts, T melodical part, Ca starts, T \ pp, Ca sf, TCAP" (ibid.: 06:00 min.). Another pattern of a sound-development before the audience reacts, this time with Laura as cantaora: "TCAP mf, C w ~ mf, C/sf, C w sf, C w ~ sf<, fff fp CTCAP TCAP mf sf PUBLIKUM OLÉ" (ibid.: 22:00 min.). Here we can see a typical interplay between bailaora and each artist "B sf fff > Laura Olé, tsa,tsa B:Ca mf, sf, T melody, B:T:Ca > pp, B:T:CaP, sf, < sf sf Publikum Olé, C mf<" (ibid.: 36:00 min.) in minute 40 they continue "B:T:CaP Tmelody, ff, C mf , ale< fff" (ibid.).

To sum up, the constant communication within the group (a description the artists use themselves) is reflected here on an auditory level (cf. Violeta and Oscar 2014). The audience experiences this too, familiar or unfamiliar with flamenco. David for example
said to me that for him the union of the artists was his personal highlight. In the interview the man from France explained to me that he was amazed how the music is listened by the dancer and players themselves (cf. Fieldnotes 2014). Additionally, the auditory aspect of the photos became described as following:

Very emotional. Strong for the viber between the participants. (Nela 2015)
Because during the performance the dancer’s feet communicate with the ground mostly in an intensive way. The sound of her dancing shoes harmonises with the music. (Maria 2015)

Finally this reflects the interaction of sound between artists and audience and the crucial role of sound during a performance.

6.3 Agents

Both artists and audience are agents within the flamenco performance. At the beginning they will be looked at separately, firstly the artist and secondly the audience. Due to the special role of the Jam Session where the 'border' between artists and audience becomes blurred it will be illuminated additionally at the end.

6.3.1 The Artists

The flamenco artists vary generally depending on the day, only as mentioned the Saturday stays the same with few exceptions. The Sunday groups become chosen through Albert. He has a preference for artists who are close to the audience as mentioned before in the sub-chapter of 'social space' and who are willing to exchange with them after the performance so that the event is more than a concert: "oh sea que participen, que no vengan super estrellas, (...) se va ya a los 5 minutos sino que tenga ganas de colaborar con los demás, que no sólo sea un concierto (...)" (Albert 2014).

Below the key agents and protagonist of Saturday will be introduced giving an insight how they got in touch with flamenco. Unlike many people think, they have not grown up in Andalusia nor have they grown up within an Andalusian or gitano community in Barcelona. They all have in common, that they got in contact with flamenco through different ways and speak Catalan with one another, which might seem contradictory to some.
Albert, as already told at the beginning, is the bar co-founder, co-owner, bartender and
guitar-player on Saturdays in one. He got in contact with flamenco through a guitar
teacher who gave him cassettes of Paco de Lucía. The first year at the 23 Robadors he
played cajón because he was to shy to join the peña but not since then. The group got to
know each other in the bar and started performing together becoming friends.

Yussef is the bartender on weekends and very popular among artists and audience
(many come to the bar and greet particularly him coming in). He is originally from
Morocco and came in contact with flamenco through his work at the 23 Robadors. At
the beginning he was not a big fan of flamenco as he told me in the interview but he
approached it while working, getting to know it better and got as he says "engachado"
to flamenco. Betimes he attended parts of the show as audience standing in the back or
the stairs close to the bar table. Sometimes depending on the audience he chooses the
music played before the performance, for example if there are more tourists, he plays
more flamenco baile music, more rhythmical if there are some cante artists among
them, he plays more flamenco cante.

Ramón "Tato", cantaor, is renowned among his colleagues and his fans for inventing
the lyrics during the performance. There exist many popular lyrics in flamenco that
become reused as well as topics like love, death, misery. Oriented on these elements he
makes up the lyrics at the moment of singing. Ramón frequently explained during the
show what palo they will perform next. In the interview he told me that he was lucky as
a child to see a flamenco singer perform, which impressed him deeply.

Laura often joined in the Saturday group during my research year, at that time there
were already murmurs that she is on an upswing of her artistically career as a cantaora.
Now, two years later she has many performances in- and outside of Barcelona (in
Pamplona, Collbató, San Sebastian). She started listening to flamenco already as a
young girl and is one of the artists who makes a lot of jaleos during a performance like:
asa, eso es, así.
Oscar started listening to flamenco music on cassettes, what draw his attention was the curiosity on the rhythm because it has a huge variety including many rhythms that are not common in occidental traditions. He already was percussionist at this time and was fascinated how a group always was able to end together "without beat" as it appeared to him at the beginning. He wanted to understand flamenco and became as they often call it "enganchado" like everyone else.

Violeta became inscribed into flamenco classes because of her attraction to dance. She danced many dances until she discovered flamenco for her at the age of seven. So she changed to a peña, an association, where she already did performances at the age of eight. Afterwards she went to an academia ("academy") where she had for the first time direct contact with cante and toque, which was completely different to what she did before. From than on she concentrated exclusively on flamenco and started to listen as much as possible to understand it.

Pablo was many times at the 23 Robadors as spectator, palmero, or sometimes percussionist. He played frequently in the jam sessions and once I saw him performing with his group. He got in contact with flamenco because he randomly stopped by two men playing cajón at the beach of Menorca. In the interview he told me that he was so taken by the strength and rhythm that it arose his curiosity. Reckoning the moment he now thinks they played by bulería. He has been going to the 23 Robadors since 8 years, already to a time when there were only performances on Sundays.

They all have in common that they got "enganchado" to flamenco earlier or later and connected through the 23 Robadors. Each of them has his own characteristics, which they reveal during a performance. To quote Violeta:

es como una comunicación constante entre los miembros del grupo (...) y creo que la improvisación en el flamenco y la relación entre las personas que lo hacen, creo que es bueno, no lo tiene ningún género más. (Violeta and Oscar 2014).

From her point of view, it is the communication (a word often used by the artists regarding the performance) between the group and the relation of the individuals that makes flamenco good. For Violeta this cannot be found in other genres. Hence, the relation or as an interviewee said the "vibes" of the group shape the experience for
themselves and for the audience. Oscar once mentioned to me that sometimes it is contradictory because you know the other artists very good but you actually do not know much about their personal life. The music, "the communication" connects them and they get to know really well although on a musical level. The Saturday group formed out of friendship six seven years ago when they all met at the bar. Each artist commented in the interview that they feel very familiar with the bar, not only due to the concept of it but as well because of the atmosphere and the audience who comes listens to them. For everyone it is important not to be seen as background music within a bar but to be heard. Further, it is central to listen to the members of the group while performing to be able to improvise. I documented once in my fieldnotes that "you could feel literarily how much fun the artists had, how the spurn on or 'provoked' each other, this was confirmed to me by Albert later" (Fieldnotes 2013). A visitor (unfamiliar with flamenco) told me that although she does not understand she has the feeling the artists are communicating and she is somehow part of it though more passive than others of the audience who interact (cf. Fieldnotes 2014)

6.3.2 The Audience

Let's turn the point and look at those who form the audience. In the 23 Robadors you find a very heterogeneous group because of diverse reasons. There are tourists who go there to see something 'typical Spanish': flamenco. They come from all over; some of them already saw flamenco performances others did not. I met people from the US, China, Italy, France, Germany to mention some places. They came because of distinct reasons, holidays, work trip, practical etc. They either found out about the place through the "Lonley Planet", the local site "Butxaca" (that was recommended to them) or through oral advertisement. For example there was a group of young women from Germany who were doing there practical in Barcelona. Franzi, one of them heard about the bar through a friend who did her Erasmus in Barcelona. They only stayed for a short time as their practical was limited but it was her third visit at the 23 Robadors. Another guest was a group of flight attendants. The stewardesses where there for the first time and all had to fly back the next day. The steward, studied anthropologist, born
in England, raised in Spain, now living in England, who plays himself the flamenco
guitar, takes every occasion he flies to Spain to go to see flamenco. He already knew the
23 Robadors from former visits and brought his colleagues along. Regarding him there
are only few places in England and a small number of guitar players. Therefore, he
focused on toque during the performance.

There are as well many who visit the 23 Robadors frequently, who the artists call "la
peña" (the regular visitor) including aficionados, 'gitanos' and artists who perform or
visit events. Some of them come to the second part and bring their instrument to join the
jam session afterwards. The artists and aficionados are often those ones who shout
(jaleo) during the performance and call the names of the artists like "olé Violeta","Olé
Albert". David who dances flamenco for leisure and José who plays the flamenco guitar
and cajón visit the 23 Robadors regularly. David is an active spectator; he is not the one
who says "olé" once but three times in a row. Once before Christmas, they invited him
to come forward and dance for the last song that opens up for the jam session.

Then there are the flamenco aficionados who come, these are the ones who for example
start right at the beginning to join palmas and shout more "guapa" during the
performance. I reckon one night that I saw a group of three couples and always when
Ramón explained which palo they will perform they commented on it and during the
break they started to sing flamenco. Another time a woman called from the audience to
Ramón "cariño", this is like sweetheart, to sing a certain song, which he already had
sung (song: lo bueno y lo malo).

The audience is a hybrid of diverse people, from tourists to peña everyone could be
found in this small place. Because of this mingle an interesting dynamic occurs. Those
ones who are familiar with flamenco – be it aficionados who came to see how the 23
Robadors is like, or who come regularly, or for the jam sessions – are generally a more
active audience. They dare to do jaleos and palmas affecting the others, so they start to
imitate and join. Does the audience include more visitors unfamiliar with flamenco they
are often more passive. However, as well the individuals familiar or unfamiliar with
flamenco influence the dynamics and how shy or extrovert they are.
6.3.3 The Jam Session

The jam session has very particular position in the night of the 23 Robadors and therefore I want to have a closer look on it regarding the role of agents.

Sunday evening the 13th October: "the performance was already over and the Jam Session has started. A small group was improvising until one woman started to shout "Antonio" towards the bar table. A man whom I saw before bringing his guitar came to the front wearing a T-Shirt with the huge inscription: "Camarón" [Camarón de la Isla] on it. He took out his guitar and started right away with a fast rhythm. Albert accompanied him with the cajón for two three songs and than gave place to another, who gave place after a short time to Pablo, who lasted longest. Antonio was playing and singing at the same time. At some point of the evening it seemed like everyone was dancing, with the song "locura" by the group el bicho everyone started singing out loud. The next Saturday I got told that it went on until the early morning. (Fieldnotes 2013)

Antonio (autodidact toque, who learned to play 'on the street') is a very popular guest at jam sessions of the 23 Robadors as I got told. Albert told me that there are many artists or 'becoming' artists who come to the bar to listen, to learn, to practise, to show off and to enjoy improvising with others.

The jam session subsequent to the performance has tradition at the 23 Robadors and it exists since the beginnings of the bar. Usually at the end of the performance, particularly on Saturdays the artists perform one extra, when there are friends in the audience who know flamenco they become invited to the stage. In some occasions they 'switched' roles, for example Ramón el cantaor dances with Violeta together to open the jam session. There are many visitors and friends who go there regularly even with their instrument, as mentioned before, to play in the jam session. The group as well stays for the jam session. It is the part of the evening when the fiesta flamenco starts and everyone is invited to join. It could be seen as the absolution of the performance where artist and audience unify and the 'border' disappears because everyone is artist and audience at the same time. These jam sessions can last until the early morning (which means four or five o'clock). Female and male toque, bailaores, cantaores and percussionists come together there, as well from other genres. Once a woman joined in the jam session playing the piano more in a jazz style. Albert told me that in the past more artists from other genres visited the bar, also flute and saxophone players were among them.
6.4 Preliminary Summary

It can be constituted that space, actions and agents shape the flamenco performance and its perception and experience.

The 'unit' space is the result of three sub-categories: physical space, social space and embodied space. These three forms of spaces cannot be seen separately because they correspond to and rely on each other. The physical space in this context the bar is a defined place, where the performance takes place due its dimensions and bar-concept it gives space to a social space. Further the body is a 'space' itself within the space of performance where performance takes place. This brings us to the next point of actions. Actions are looked at here on three levels: Exclamations and Palmas, Looking and Listening and Body and Sound. In fact it is impossible to separate them because they intersect with each other during a performance. Exclamations and palmas are part of corporal expression linked with sound provoking looking and listening and vice versa. However, individually they play different roles within the performance and regarding the agents. Thus, it is important to see their own 'field of action' to put them into relation in the next chapter (conclusion). Agents have been examined at the end, the reason was to see space and actions individually before introducing the agents, who give it a personal character and shape them. The 'outer' circumstances should be considered first before exploring the agents. Within the 23 Robadors not only the artists are agents but as well the audience. Moreover, in the case of the jam session there is no division anymore between artists and audience they become equally.

Recapitulating this chapter it becomes clear that space, actions and agents create and affect social interaction and communication and form the basis for sociability. Physical space, embodied space and social space build the variable space a major factor on the social level. As well the exclamations, looking and listening and body and sound as actions contribute towards it. The agents including artists and audience take use of the variables before and are defined by them and reciprocally. Moreover, the categories as seen are analysing units but interplay and rely on each other in reality. These aspects shall be developed more detailed in the final conclusion.
7 Conclusion

Point of departure for this research was the interest on what is so fascinating about a flamenco performance with the sub-questions what role does body play, what role does sound play and how is communicated between the performers and the audience. This lead to the social aspect of sociability and the integral function flamenco implies.

(...) music is an instance of what he [Schutz] terms 'the "mutual tuning-in relationship" upon which all communications is founded ... by which "I" and "Thou" are experienced by both participants as a "We" vivid presence". (Filmer 2003:96)

The experienced "vivid we presence" how Filmer calls it, is created in the 23 Robadors through three variables namely agents, space and actions whereby body and sound play a major role. Therefore, lets have a look at how the variables relate to understand how communication and interaction emerges continually illuminating the integral aspect.

The analysis has shown that both artists and visitors are social agents. They can be understood as the ones who initiate "causal sequences" while they "imitate 'actions' which are caused by themselves, by their intentions" (Gell 1998:16). The "intentions" during the performance differ between the artists due to the role within the group like leading or accompanying as well as interplaying, motivating, provoking, transmitting etc. The interaction from the side of the audience on bodily or auditory level makes the audience to social agents as well. They do not only react on what is happening on stage but they reflect it. In relation to the habitus concept people do imitate or know the "habitus" and therefore react on it (cf. Bourdieu 1997:73). In concrete this means, the 'tourist' audience imitates the audience familiar with flamenco or the peña, who can decipher this "habitus" and participate through jaleos or palmas. The frequency of jaleos within a performance and the individuals who join affect the active or passiveness of the audience. This depends on the visitors on site familiar with flamenco and on personalities who like to express their affection during a performance and who dare to join. The palmas have a controversial role; they serve as percussion instrument to mark rhythm or offbeat and to spur on. This has the effect that the audience tries to take over the "habitus", or that visitors familiar with flamenco want to show their
knowledge. As a consequence, this improves the activeness and interaction of the audience on one side but can be disturbing for the performers on the other. Therefore, actions shape agency and influence the interaction. Looking and listening have a significant role to it as well. Both are necessary for the artists to communicate through them and to improvise within a performance. The actions of the audience be it looking, body or sound directs the "gaze" of the audience (cf. Scarangella 2012:80). On basis of its "mental faculty" listening has an impact on the audience during the performance (Schwartz 2009:488). Looking changes from 'looking at' to 'looking at what', guided through the artists and through listening (cf. Scarangella 2012:80). Reversed looking conducts as well listening altering between them and between the agents. The tourists are particularly interested in the dance and react the most on it, which can be because the gaze may underlay a "romantic/collective" view on flamenco (ibid.:79). The pleasure of listening to cante is more to be found among visitors familiar with flamenco and aficionados. Additionally, body and sound stimulate both senses. On the one side we have the individual body as experience of oneself and on the other side the social body "as representation of society" (Sheper-Hughes and Lock 1987:19). With regard to the artists their body transmits their personal expression in synergy with dancing, singing, guitar and the rhythms of the cajón. Hence, the body is producer of actions and reactions as well as a reflection of them, for example mirrored in the exertion and relaxation of the audience during a performance. Further, the body is as well a surface of projection turning into social body. Encouraged through the typical dresses of the bailaora and the cantaora for instance, the image of the flamenco 'triangle' (toque, cante, baile and now as well cajón) becomes representative of 'Spanish folkloric identity' in the tourist gaze. Regarding the interplay of body and sound quoting Barthes once again: "(...) the body controls, conducts, co-ordinates, having itself to transcribe what it reads, making sound and meaning, the body as inscriber and not just transmitter, simply receiver" (Barthes: 149). As a consequence, body and sound are connected and cannot be seen separately because they rely on each other. In addition, regarding sociability, sound provides the "mutual-tuning-in" among the artists as a form of communication and between artists and audience in form of interaction and transmitter (Filmer 2003:96).
Nonverbal communication is used were there is a lack of verbal coding (...)” (Lynne 1979:25): considering this quote by Lynne Hanna and relating it to the diverse audience of a performance, this could explain why visitors unfamiliar with flamenco participate although compared to aficionados from a more outside point of view. The communication through body and sound is understandable to them though maybe on the surface. The experience, however, is shaped by the space were it takes place and vice versa. The space of the performance is defined as a space of leisure and consume on the one side and a space of labour on the other (cf. Brenner and Elden 2009:187). For the artists it is space of labour, yet a space of leisure to meet their friends, to exchange with artists at the jam session and to participate at the fiesta flamenca. The visitors come to see and listen to flamenco, drink and eat, to meet friends and make new acquaintances. For others it is a space to jam and to practise. This fusion of different motivations makes the space as well a social space due to the interactions that take place between the agents (cf. Brenner and Elden 2009:229). It is a mixture of public and private space. Further, the body proximity (determined through the size of the space) supports relating to each other.

Summarising going back to my initial questions, body and sound play an important role within a flamenco performance due to their major role as transmitter, producer, receiver, projector and creator of proximity. The body reflects the sound in corporal expression and reciprocally, staying individual elements during a performance in constant interplay and communication. Thus, this is how between performers and audience is communicated, facilitated by agency through participation on both sides. This leads us to the next aspect, the integral part of flamenco.

The goal of such performance is to entertain, to have fun, and to create what Victor Turner calls "spontaneous communitas", the dissolution of boundaries shutting people off from each other. The resulting experience is of collective celebration. (Schechner 1988:141)

Including the methods of Cruces examining the collective sociability, following can be constituted. In the 23 Robadors we find a certain grade of ritualization with respect to the order - it always begins with cante and as second part the bailaora joins in, this repeats after the break with an opening performance for the jam session. This means there exists a degree of formalization that disappears in the jam session (cf. Cruces 2002:25). The grade of participation depends very much on individuals who are willing to imitate and to join in as well as on the peña and flamenco 'knowers' present. All
forms of visitors do influence each other improving or disturbing the performance. The concept of the 23 Robadors lies between the value of exchange and values of use (cf. ibid.:26). On the one hand the bar 'sells' flamenco performances announcing it on advertising sites, on the other hand they perform for the purpose of collective satisfaction and for themselves, which became evident in the interviews and is reflected on the interaction on stage. Finally it can be said that the actual art, to use Schechner's term, results in a collective sociability based on the relations of the analyzed variables at a performance at the 23 Robadors. Moreover, this collective sociability may be seen as spontaneous communitas by means of shared experience (cf. Turner 1969:134). However, the "absolute-equality" as Turner characterizes the spontaneous communitas is found in the particular role of the jam session subsequent to the performance (ibid.:126). The jam session is the 'absolution' where the boundary between artists and audience disappears and everyone can be artist and/or audience at the same time. In conclusion, flamenco is an escaping from a 'life in structure' in form of collective sociability and on a higher-level in form of spontaneous communitas, fascinating through expressing impressions and impressing through expressions.
8 Glossary

Aficionados comes from the Spanish word "aficion" to be fond of something and describes to use a modern term the "fans" of flamenco.

Bailaor/a is the flamenco dancer. It differs from the term normally used for dancers, for example the ballet dancer is called "bailarín".

Baile is the dance.

Cantaor/a is the term for a flamenco vocalist. Singers of other genres are called cantante.

Cante is the singing or the song.

Coplas are couplets within the cante.

Jaleos are shouts and comments by artists and audience during a performance.

Palmas is the rhythmical handclapping within flamenco by artists and the audience. There exist palmas sordas "deaf clapping" (here the hands are cupped quietly) and palmas sonoras or fuertes "sonorous clapping" (the fingers of one hand are clapped into the palm of the other).

Palo is the style of flamenco, often performed ones are Bulería, Alegrías, Soleá.

Paso(s) steps of the bailaora.

Peñas are bars were aficionados meet to perform, to listen and to see flamenco. The aficionados themselves that go to the peña are called peña themselves, the English translation would be "club".

Tablao is a flamenco bar mainly addressed to tourists.

Tema in this context does not refer to the "topic" of the flamenco or palo in particular but to the various parts within a performed palo, for example first a 'dialogue' between cante and toque, than the bailaora joins in (still the same palo) a new tema starts, than there is only an interplay between guitar and bailaora (still the same) a new tema begins and so on.

Toque is an own flamenco word for the guitar player (sometimes as well called guitarrista flamenco), usually guitar player are called guitarrista in Spanish.

Zapateo is the percussion with feet, Taconeo is the percussion with heels.
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Abstracts

English
Performing arts have the capability of creating an union among people in form of a temporal collective sociability and - in terms of Victor Turner - a "spontaneous communitas". In the present research both phenomenons have been studied in the case of flamenco performances on the basis of three variables: space, actions and agents. The intention of the work lies on making visible the particular form of social interaction and communication between artists and audience revealing the role of body and sound. Furthermore, to show the integral function of flamenco and the value of performance for society regarding its sociability, which has been of marginal interest for a long time.

Deutsch
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